

A  
0  
0  
1  
2  
3  
8  
5  
7  
3  
8



UC SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY

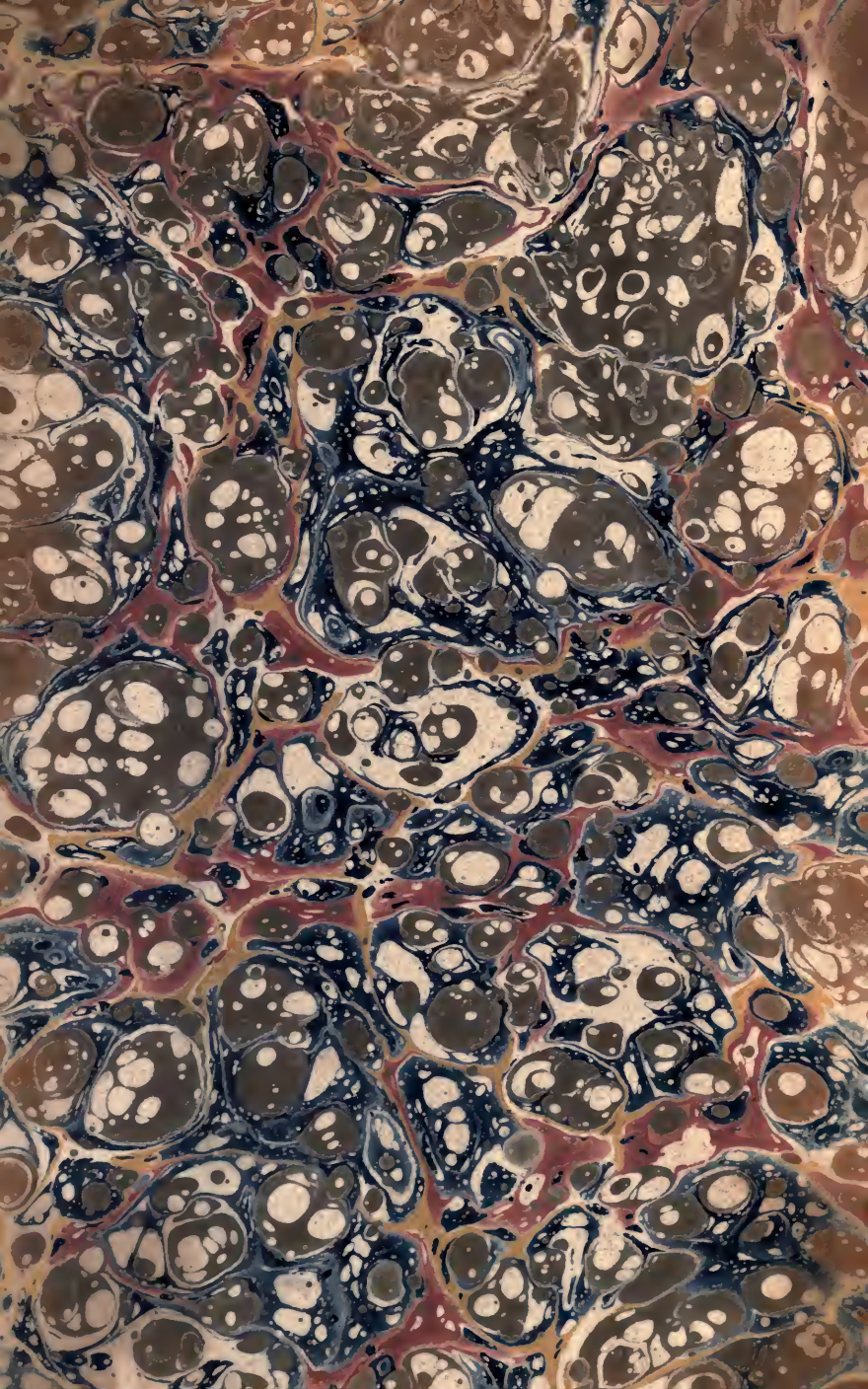


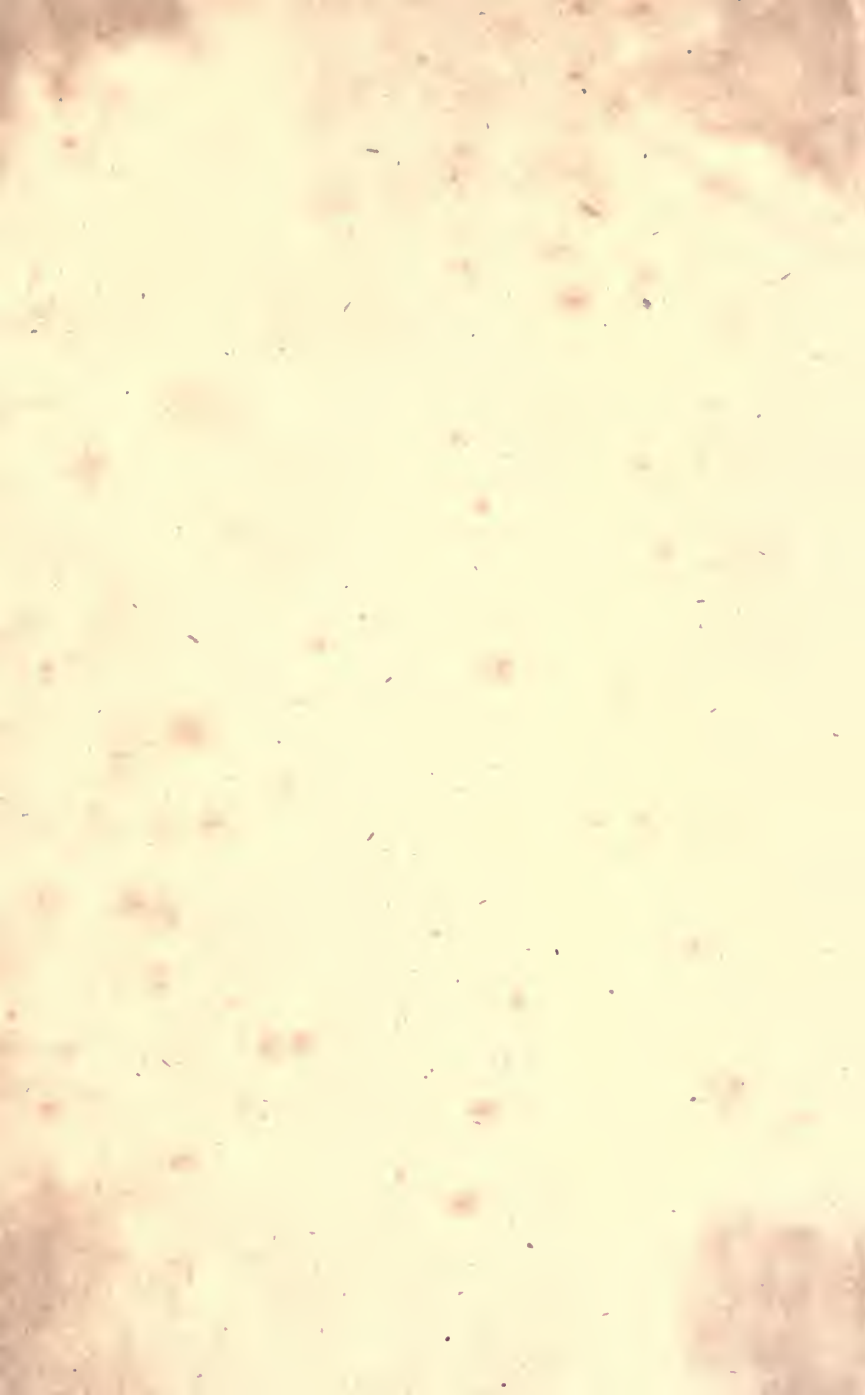


THE LIBRARY  
OF  
THE UNIVERSITY  
OF CALIFORNIA  
LOS ANGELES





















Digitized by the Internet Archive  
in 2007 with funding from  
Microsoft Corporation



THE  
**HISTORY OF IRELAND,**

FROM ITS  
UNION WITH GREAT BRITAIN,

IN  
JANUARY 1801,  
TO  
OCTOBER 1810.

---

---

*BY FRANCIS PLOWDEN, ESQ.*

---

---

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

---

“Incorrupta fides nudaque veritas.”—HOR.

---

DUBLIN:

PRINTED AND SOLD BY JOHN BOYCE,

NO. 9, ARRAN-QUAY.

~~~~~  
1811.

HISTORY OF IOWA

FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT

TO THE PRESENT

BY THOMAS MORTON, ESQ.

NEW YORK: PUBLISHED BY

JOHN W. MORTON, 107 N. 3RD ST.

1845

PRINTED AND SOLD BY JOHN W. MORTON

107 N. 3RD ST.

1845



950.3  
P72h  
v.3

# CONTENTS

TO

## VOLUME III.

### CHAPTER V.

#### *Administration of the DUKE of RICHMOND.*

p. 548

The Lord Lieutenant and Secretary made free of the City—  
The Bar takes leave of the Chancellor—Dissolution of Parlia-  
ment—Lord Grenville's letter to Dr. Gaskyn—Meeting of Par-  
liament, and King's speech—Debates on the address, and the con-  
sequences—Government interferes in the Wexford election—  
Mr. Grattan on the message of ministers—Conduct of the diffe-  
rent parties, with reference to sinecures—Insurrection act, and  
its consequences—Debates thereon—Mr. Grattan supports the  
Insurrection bill—Mr. Sheridan singly opposes it—The Insur-  
rection act the original measure of the ex-ministers—Contested  
clauses in the committee—Mr. Grattan in explanation—  
Insurrection bill in the Lords—Lord Holland—Earl of Limerick  
and Duke of Bedford—Earls of Kingston, Hardwicke, and Lord  
Carleton—Earl Selkirk—Insurrection bill passes—Irish arms bill  
—Violent opposition to the Arms bill—Various acts of the legis-  
lature concerning Ireland—Mr. Sheridan's motion on the state  
of Ireland—Mr. Perceval opposes Mr. Sheridan's motion—Pro-  
rogation of Parliament, and mean and malicious efforts to traduce  
the Catholics—Inconsistency of the Irish Government—Origin of  
Shanavests and Caravats—Mr. Bushe's speech at the special Com-  
mission—Differences in the Cabinet—Preparations for opening  
Parliament—Opening of Parliament, and Mr. Sheridan's speech—  
Quarter Assembly against Catholic petition—Catholic petition  
entrusted to Lord Fingal—Memorial and neglect of Mr. Todd  
Jones—Increasing liberality of Protestants—Richmond admini-  
stration hostile to Catholics, Mr. Giffard and Dr. Duigenan—

## CONTENTS

Curtailed Grant to Maynooth College—Debate thereon—Debate on the report and Gen. Mathew's speech—Dr. Duigenan specially recommended by the Duke of Richmond—Some Protestants harmonize with the Catholics—Origin of *Veto*—Catholic petition presented—Mr. Ponsonby's negotiation with Lord Fingal and Dr. Milner—Mr. Grattan proposes the *Veto*—Mr. Ponsonby next proposes the *Veto*—Mr. Perceval on *Veto*—Lord Grenville presents the petition to the Lords—Lord Sidmouth—Origin of the *Veto* controversy—Sir J. Cox Hippesley's conduct in this matter—Lord Grenville's letter—Mr. Pitt's original design of the *Veto*—Lord Grenville's further conduct—Lord Grenville's letter to his Oxford friends—The penal code not repealed—Nature of the obstacles to Catholic emancipation—Separation of England from the See of Rome—Lord Grenville particularly committed in this question—Revision of Lord Grenville's speech.—The true intendment of the oath of supremacy—Difference between the spiritual and temporal power—Inexpediency of the Royal *Veto*—*Vox populi*, and synodical resolutions—Attempts to counteract the synodical resolutions—Prison abuses—Tithes Catholics excluded from the Bank—Speech of the Marquis of Buckinghamshire in favor of the Catholics—Dublin police bill—Irish supplies—The Richmond administration countenance Orange outrages—Government declines interfering against Orangemen—Determined Anti-Catholic disposition of the Richmond administration—Catholic meeting in Tipperary—Commissioners for investigating prison abuses—Improvident conduct of Government—Opening of Parliament, various subjects of debate—Charge of corruption against Mr. Perceval & Lord Castlereagh—Lord Milton determined against parliamentary reform, Sir Francis Burdett for it—Singular speech of Mr. Ponsonby—Inland navigation, and Irish distillery bills—Mr. Parnell's motion about tithes—Speeches of Mr. Maurice Fitzgerald and Mr. Ponsonby against tithes—Protestant petitions against tithes—Government countenances fiscal delinquency—Beauchamp Hill—Further abuses of Government—Catholics prepare to petition Parliament—General meeting of Catholics—Catholics claim their rights openly in spite of the convention act—Orangism Anti-Catholic—Orange Aristocracy disclaim the institute—Meeting of all the Orange lodges by deputation—Government favorable to Orange delinquency—Instances of

# CONTENTS

61

Government favor to Orangemen—Defection of the Bandon  
Orangemen and the consequences—Catholics resolve to petition.  
—Vice-regal tour into Munster, and conduct—National obser-  
vations and feelings upon the events of the year—The Jubilee  
at Dublin—Malignant inveteracy of ministry against Catholics.  
—Same subject continued—Conduct of Government to the Ca-  
tholic soldiery—The 5th resolution of the English Roman Catho-  
lics—Intrigue of the board of Catholics of Gr. Britain—  
Decline of the *Veto* in Ireland—Catholic meeting in Dublin—  
Sir John C. Hippeley's letter and plan of *Veto*—Encrease of  
Orange ferocity by greater secrecy—Growing liberality in the  
corporation of Dublin—County of Tyrone meeting—Opening of  
Parliament and ministerial misrepresentation—Catholics resolve  
to apply for unconditional emancipation—Mr. Grattan presents  
the Catholic petition—Catholics meet in Dublin, thank their Bi-  
shops for opposing the *Veto*—Dr. O' Connor and the Author—  
Mr. Parnell's motion about tithes—Government objects to Mr.  
Parnell's motion, and Mr. Grattan supports it—Debate upon  
the Catholic petition in the Commons. Mr. Grattan—Sir J. Cox  
Hippeley seconds the motion—Further particulars of Sir J. C.  
Hippeley's speech—Continuation of Sir J. C. Hippeley's speech  
Sir W. Scott opposes the petition—Sir J. Newport supports  
the petition—Lord Castlereagh against the Catholics—Mr. Pon-  
sonby supports the motion subject to *Veto*—Mr. Perceval against  
the motion for going into the Committee—Mr. C. Hutchinson  
for the motion without *Veto*—Mr. O' Hara and others—Mr. Par-  
nell decidedly against *Veto*—The Irish secretary against petition,  
—Mr. M. Fitzgerald for the petition without *Veto*—Solicitor Ge-  
neral against the motion—Debates on the Lords upon the Ca-  
tholic petition—Lord Donoughmore—Lord Clancarty against the  
motion—Lord Erskine for going into a committee—Lord Hol-  
land and Duke of Norfolk for going into a committee—Lord  
Grey and the division in the Lords—Proceedings in Parliament.  
Effects of the debates on the Catholic question—The Irish synod  
against the 5th resolution of the board of British Catholics—Ca-  
tholics divide upon the expediency of petitioning—Catholic  
meeting—Mr. O' Gorman moves resolution, seconded by Dr.  
Dromgoole—Mr. O' Connor moves an amendment and  
seconded by Mr. Clinch—Mr. Keogh's defence—Measures of  
the Catholic committee in defence of Mr. Keogh—Orange out-



## CONTENTS

rages and impunity—Measures for repeal of the act of Union—  
 Requisition for the meeting—Answer of Sir E. Stanley—Answer  
 of Sir James Riddall—Aggregate meeting and their resolutions—  
 —His Majesty taken ill.

---

## APPENDIX

### No. I.

*A letter to Col. Newenham from a Roman Catholic Clergyman  
 of the Diocese of Cork; namely the Rev. Doctor Walsh, who rece-  
 ntly died in the 44th year of his age, an illustrious example of  
 evangelical zeal, purity and edification, and literally a victim to  
 the excessive weight and labour of his parochial duties.* . . . p. 1.

### No. II.

*Resolutions of the Roman Catholic Prelates in 1799.* . . . p. 9.

### No. III.

*A Letter from Lord Grenville to the Earl of Fingal.* . . . p. 11.

### No. IV.

*Resolutions, &c. of The Roman Catholic Prelates* . . . p. 17.

### No. V.

*Suggestions on the Tithing System.* . . . p. 27.

### No. VI.

*The letter of CATHOLICUS IPSE, to the General Committee of the  
 Catholics of Ireland.* . . . p. 32.  
*Mr. Keogh's reply.* . . . p. 37.

### No. VII.

*Copy of the engagements which Sir Michael Smith required in  
 favor of his dependants in office, before he would resign his situ-  
 ation of Master of the Rolls; and which was sent to the late  
 Chancellor Ponsonby, at his request.* . . . p. 44.  
*A Copy of the Chancellor Ponsonby's letter to Sir M. Smith.* p. 45.

# HISTORY OF IRELAND.

---

---

## CHAPTER V.

---

---

### *Administration of the DUKE of RICHMOND.*

---

OF this administration suffice it to observe, that it consists of men devoted to the principles and system of a party, which worked itself into power, by pledging themselves to be adverse to Catholic concession. This pervading principle will be the ready comment to unravel and explain every circumstance of difficulty and mystery, that may occur throughout the chapter. On the 22d of April, whilst the adjourned Quarter Assembly of the Common Council was convened in William-street, Dublin, an order was sent down from the Lord Mayor and Board of Aldermen, for presenting to the Lord Lieutenant his freedom of the city in a gold box, with an address congratulating him upon

1807

The Lord  
Lieutenant  
and Secretary  
made  
free of the  
city.



1807.

his appointment to the government of Ireland. A similar order was also sent to Sir A. Wellesley, with his freedom to be presented in a silver box, with an address of congratulation. Both these orders were founded on a petition of several of the Commons, stating, that it was customary so to proceed. On which occasion Mr. Giffard said, that though he were convinced, that every man, who heard him would be emulous to make his respect to the two illustrious persons in question, yet he believed they would be actuated by far different motives than mere custom; for one, he voted for those marks of respect to his Grace the Duke of Richmond, as due to him on account of his high rank and estimable character; but, above all, because he trusted he would prove a true representative of our good and gracious King, and like him maintaining the constitution in Church and State, secure the internal peace, tranquillity and prosperity of Ireland. With regard to Sir Arthur Wellesley, he voted for the compliment to him, first, as a countryman, and of an illustrious family long honored and beloved; secondly, on account of his amiable character; and thirdly, because he had, under the auspices of that *excellent Statesman*, the Marquis Wellesley, extended the renown of the British empire, and displayed our conquering banner, on the farthest borders of India. Certain persons were appointed to draw up the address, which was soon after presented by the whole Corporation.

1807.

The Bar  
takes leave  
of the  
Chancellor.

His Grace had not been two days seated on the vice-regal throne, when he was waited upon by Lord Fingal, and he took that opportunity of expressing his firm determination to adopt a strict and equal administration of the laws uninfluenced by the passions or prejudices of any party whatsoever. Before the new Lord Lieutenant set about the arrangements, he strongly pressed Mr. Plunkett to continue in the situation of Attorney General. This he refused, and upon his resignation, Mr. Saurin was appointed to succeed him. It was generally believed, that this gentleman had twice before declined the offer of that honorable situation. His motives for accepting it under a government overtly pledged to resist Catholic concession to Ireland were consequently much canvassed. Mr. Bushe was appointed Solicitor General. When the Chancellor, after having given judgment in a cause of great moment, was about to quit the Court on the 28th of April, he was detained by the Attorney General, requesting to know, "Whether his Lordship meant to sit on the following day?" Upon being answered in the negative, Mr. Attorney General addressed him nearly as follows. "My Lord. Having by the desire of the Bar had the honor to present you with their unanimous congratulations on your appointment to the Seals, they cannot be silent on the present occasion; and through me are anxious to repeat to you the sentiments, which they then expressed. I must, my Lord, be permitted to convey to you the high sense, which is entertained by the Bar of the dili-

1807.

gence, the zeal, the talents, and the integrity, with which you have discharged the duties of your office\*, and the deep regret they at this moment feel at your separation from them. I must also be allowed to express their grateful acknowledgments of the uniform courtesy and impartial attention, which you always manifested towards every member of their profession.” To which the Chancellor replied nearly in the following words. “ I feel most sensibly this approbation of the Bar, which you have so kindly communicated ; at the same time, I must be permitted to ascribe it, as much to their partiality, as any merit of mine. When the King was pleased to appoint me to the high office, which I had the honor to hold, it was my firm determination, conscientiously to discharge the duties, which belong to it, to the utmost of my ability ; I am inclined to think, I have not been altogether unsuccessful, having obtained a commendation of a body so capable of forming a correct judgment as the Irish Bar. I feel great satisfac-

The merits of Mr. Ponsonby as Chancellor were more precisely set forth by Lord Howick on the 3d. of July, when the House of Commons was debating upon his pension. “ Of the honor of Mr. Ponsonby he believed no man ever entertained a doubt ; and he would now appeal to the gentlemen of Ireland present, whether there ever had been on the chancery bench in that country a more upright and efficient Judge ; or one, who had rendered such universal satisfaction ? The truth was, that when appointed to that office, he found the business in arrear six years. 600 motions and 427 causes ; he cleared all the motions and 200 causes, besides the current business of his court ; and had he remained in office only some months longer, would have cleared the whole.”



1807.

tion from the character of the nobleman, who has been appointed my successor, that the duties of the situation will be discharged by him in a manner far beyond that, to which my humble talents could pretend." On the next day Lord Manners arrived in Dublin, and the Great Seal was put into his hands. Some days after, Sir Jonah Barrington, the Judge of the Irish Admiralty, was presented to his Majesty at the Queen's House by Lords Hawkesbury and Westmoreland, and kissed his Majesty's hand on his new appointment\*; after which his Majesty conferred the honor of knighthood upon him. There ended the new legal arrangements under this administration. The only civil place carrying with it no political authority or consequence given by the late administration to their own particular friends, was the place of Master General of Ireland to Mr. Bowes Daly, the brother-in-law of Mr. G. Ponsonby and Mr. Thomas Sheridan. That was now returned to Lord Lecale, who held it under Mr. Pitt's administration, of which he was a prime favourite, and staunch supporter.

The dissolution of Parliament, which the new ministers affected in the cant of the day to deno-  
Dissolution of Parliament.  
minate an appeal to the people, being not then of four months standing, was warmly contested, though carried by a great predominancy in the cabinet. It was a measure neither calculated, nor

\* The office of the Judge of the Irish Admiralty was then for the first time granted for life, with an encreased salary of £1,200. Vide what was before said upon this subject, p. 229. & seq.

1807.

intended for the benefit of the people; but merely to secure a majority in favor of the new ministry. However glossed over, the measure was rash and hazardous: it strongly spoke the fears and weakness of the new men, who, like losing gamblers, were determined to risk all on one desperate cast of the dice. The adventurous step was generally attributed to the influence of Mr. G. Canning, who in this and some other points of difference triumphed over Lord Sidmouth, whom he disliked and contemned, and drove into open opposition. It was also understood at the time, that Lord Melville, lately and awkwardly as he had emerged from the black cloud of impeachment, vauntingly declared, he would not sit in the same cabinet with Lord Sidmouth. This noble Viscount, after having once tasted the sweets of office, and indulged in the flattering exercise of directing the secret movements of the royal mind, became as accommodating as his colleague Lord Viscount Castlereagh to every man of every principle, that would condescend to sit with him in the cabinet. Whether he marred or forwarded the plans of his colleagues, he clung to his special pledge and tenure, by which he commanded royal favor, as long as he resisted the emancipation of Ireland.

Lord Grenville's letter to Dr. Gaskyn.

It would be difficult to give a more impressive idea of the bigotted and self-interested views of the system, and their indefatigable industry in fanning the flame of religious rancour and animosity for party purposes, than the admirable letter of Lord Grenville to the Rev. Dr. Gaskyn, the Se-



cretary of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, is calculated to produce. It was written, upon that reverend gentleman's having published in various newspapers on the eve of a general election an advertisement, in which it is explicitly asserted, that the late bill for the relief of Catholic officers was *an innovation hostile to the Established Church*. Lord Grenville was a member of the Society.

1807.

*Downing-street, May 2, 1807.*

SIR,

The Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, of which I am a member, has thought fit to publish, during a general election, a resolution declaratory of its opinion respecting a political measure recently submitted to Parliament.

That measure brought forward for purposes of peace, union, and public security by men, who yield to none of their fellow-subjects in loyalty to their Sovereign, and attachment to the civil and religious constitution of their country, is there stigmatized as hostile to the Established Church and ecclesiastical constitution of the realm, and as subversive of those principles, which placed his Majesty's family on the British throne.

It is natural for those, whose characters are thus aspersed, to enquire by what right any persons have taken upon themselves, in the name of such a Society, to give countenance and currency to an injurious and groundless calumny, fabricated

1807.

for the watchword of a party, and calculated only to excite and to uphold popular clamor.

The Society was instituted, as its annual publications declare, for the encrease of the knowledge and practice of our holy religion, by the support of charity schools, and by the distribution of bibles, prayer books, and religious tracts. Those, who have directed the present proceeding, can best explain in what manner Christian knowledge, or Christian practice will be encreased by promoting religious animosities and civil discord, by stirring up the blind prejudices and ungovernable passions of the ignorant, and by circulating amongst our fellow-subjects, instead of the words of truth and charity, the libellous and inflammatory calumnies of electioneering contests and party violence. As a member of the Society, solicitous for the promotion of its genuine objects, I desire to enter my dissent to a resolution purporting to express its unanimous opinion. I object to the propriety of its taking part at all in the political divisions of the country. I object to its labouring to extend and prolong those divisions, with respect to a measure publicly withdrawn, and of which there is consequently no longer any question. But most of all I object to the truth; and may I not add, to the decency of a censure, which, if it were founded either in justice or in reason, would apply equally to almost every description of public men, and would even implicate all those authorities, which are the most entitled to our respect and reverence.

1807.

If to permit the King's subjects of all persuasions to serve him in his army be an unconstitutional innovation, with whom, and when, did it originate? It was first made the law in Ireland fourteen years ago, at the express recommendation of the crown, delivered from the throne by one of his Majesty's present ministers (Lord Westmoreland) then Lord Lieutenant of that kingdom. If the adoption of a similar law in Great Britain would be an act of hostility to the established church, to whom shall that hostility be ascribed? To those who have now proposed, or to those, who long ago engaged for that concession? To the framers of Lord Howick's bill, or to those members and supporters of the present government, who, in the year 1793, gave and authorized that promise to the Catholics of Ireland? If the employment of Catholic officers and Catholic soldiers in the general service of the empire; if the permitting them to hold and exercise, at his Majesty's discretion, all military commissions, the rank and station of a General not excepted, if the relieving them in this respect from all penalties and disabilities on account of their religious persuasion, if these things be matter of just alarm to the ecclesiastical constitution of this country, when was the moment for that alarm? In the year 1804, all this, and more than this was done in an act proposed by Mr. Pitt, with the concurrence of his colleagues, now in administration, passed by the British parliament, and sanctioned by his Majesty's royal assent. That act legalized a long list of military



1807.

commissions, antecedently granted by his Majesty, with the advice of the same ministers; and it enabled his Majesty prospectively to grant at his discretion all military commissions whatever to Catholics, not indeed to British or Irish Catholics, but to foreign Catholics; to men, who owe his Majesty no allegiance, and who are not even required to disclaim those tenets, which all our fellow-subjects of that persuasion have solemnly abjured. What ground of difference will then remain to justify those outrageous calumnies against the late proposal? Is it, that men were permitted to aspire to the rewards and honors of a profession, to the toils and dangers of which the legislature of their country had long since invited them? Is it, that the same indulgences, which had been promised and granted to Catholics by others, were not withheld by us from Protestant Dissenters? Or is it, lastly, that we judged our own countrymen and fellow-subjects entitled under his Majesty's discretion, to the same confidence and favour, which parliament had so recently extended to foreigners of all nations and all descriptions? And let me further ask, if these concessions, all or any of them, are subversive of the principles, which placed his Majesty's illustrious house upon the throne, what is to be said of the far more extensive indulgences proposed in 1801 by that great minister now no more, whose name I have already mentioned? Were his principles also subversive of the established church, and of the civil constitution of the mo-

1807.

narchy? And if he too must be involved in this indiscriminating and injurious censure, what condemnation will not those men deserve, who, in the very moment of pretended danger, have advised his Majesty to call to his present councils, the authors, the partisans, and the supporters of Mr. Pitt's plan? A plan including all, that has been now proposed, and extending very far beyond our measure. On the expediency of these measures, Statesmen may differ. To stigmatize them as hostile to our establishment, or dangerous to our constitution, is to libel both the throne and the parliament. To calumniate the existing laws; and to impute to the most considerable public characters of our age, both the living and the dead, principles and purposes disclaimed by themselves, and contradicted by the whole tenor of their lives. It is for the Society to consider, whether such a conduct be consonant to the character, which it befits them to maintain, or in any manner conducive to the objects of a charitable and religious institution.

I have the honor to be, &c.

GRENVILLE.

The advance of the season, and the pressure of multifarious parliamentary business, urged the ministers to bring their friends together with all possible dispatch. Circular letters were therefore sent from the treasury to all the returned members,

Meeting of  
Parliament,  
and King's  
Speech.



1807.

whose support they anticipated\*. Although a systematic rejection of the lawful services of above a third of his Majesty's subjects, were the real cause of the late change in his councils, and the premature dissolution of the late parliament were founded on a forced levy on popular prejudice, all pointedly aimed against Ireland; yet, when the Parliament met on the 26th of June, the King's speech, which was read by the Lord Chancellor, as the head of the commission for opening the parliament, did not in any part of it even obliquely hint at Ireland. "We have it in command, say the commissioners, from his Majesty, to state to you (the Lords and Commons), that having deemed it expedient to recur to the sense of his people, his Majesty, in conformity to his declared intention, has lost no time in causing the present Parliament to be assembled. His Majesty has great satisfaction in acquainting you, that since the events, which led to a dissolution of the last Parliament, his Majesty has received† innumerable ad-

*Downing-street, June 6, 1807.*

\* The following was the form of the treasury circular, viz.

SIR,

As Parliament will certainly meet for the dispatch of business, on the 22d instant, and as questions of the greatest importance will come under discussion, I trust you will excuse my expressing to you the anxious wish, that I feel for as full an attendance as possible, at the opening of the session. I have the honor to be, your most faithful and obedient servant,

SPENCER PERCEVAL.

† The real fact of this ministerial representation of innumerable addresses was; that out of 119 counties in the United

1907.

dresses from his subjects, the warmest assurances of their affectionate attachment to his person and government, and of their firm resolution to support him in maintaining the just rights of his crown, and the true principles of the constitution; and he commands us to express his entire confidence, that he shall experience in all your deliberations, a determination to afford him an equally loyal, zealous, and affectionate support under all the arduous circumstances of the present times." Then after having bewailed the failure of all our projects on the continent, and promised a faithful application of the supplies, it proceeds. "His Majesty commands us to state to you, that he is deeply impressed with the peculiar importance of the present moment, of cherishing a spirit of union and harmony amongst his people. Such a spirit will most effectually promote the prosperity of the country at home; will give vigour and efficacy to its councils, and its arms abroad; and can alone enable his Majesty, under the blessings of Providence to carry on successfully, the great contest, in which he is engaged, or finally, to conduct it to that termination, which his Majesty's moderation and justice, have ever led him to seek a peace, in which the honor and interests of his kingdom can be secure, and in which Europe and the world may hope for independence and repose."

Kingdom, 36 counties addressed the King: all of them must be presumed to have been invited or pressed to do the like; and as 63 counties did not address: the inference is obvious. There was a majority of 47 counties for *not* addressing.

1807.

Debates on  
the address,  
and the con-  
sequences.

The address to the throne on the King's speech was moved in the Lords by Lord Mansfield, and seconded by Lord Rolle : neither of whom added one idea differing from the hackneyed phrases and Pharisaical cant, of which that contemptible composition had been fabricated by the new ministers : all of whom, as Lord Fortescue observed, on proposing his amendment, (except Mr. Perceval) had been tried in the balance and were found wanting. That noble Lord proposed an amendment, which went in substance to lay before his Majesty the culpable conduct of his ministers in dissolving the Parliament, when there existed no just or sufficient cause for such a sudden dissolution, and which was productive of great inconvenience and mischief to the country. The debate was kept up with heat till four o'clock in the morning, when Lord Fortescue's motion was negatived by a majority of 93, 67 (including proxies) having voted for it, and 160 against it. In the Commons, Viscount Newark moved, and Mr. Hall seconded the address, when after a very long speech Lord Howick moved an amendment, almost in the same words as that moved in the Lords by Lord Fortescue, which, about seven in the morning, on the division, was negatived by a majority of 195 ; 355 having voted for the original address, and 155 for the amendment. It is obvious, that the then existing circumstances of Ireland constituted the real grounds of the late change in his Majesty's councils, and formed the substantial basis of those animated and important debates, yet in each house the generality



1807.

of the speakers, (more particularly those on the ministerial side) appeared studiously to avoid any mention of Ireland. Lord Howick, however, made a manly appeal to Lord Castlereagh, on the effects produced on that country by the conduct of his Majesty's ministers. When he recollected the measures, which had been recommended by the noble Lord opposite, as necessary to the tranquillity of Ireland, when he recollected the declaration of that noble Lord, that Ireland could not be governed without some concession of that nature, when he recollected, that the noble Lord had pledged himself to the execution of the measure, and for that pledge had received a valuable consideration, that by it he had been enabled to complete the union of the two kingdoms; when he recollected those things, and considered the consequences, that might have resulted in Ireland from the failure of the measure, which he had proposed, his astonishment, even after the lapse of three months, had not ceased. Serious, indeed, would these consequences have been, had the attempts, which had been lately made to infuse into the people of England, a rancorous animosity against the Catholics of Ireland succeeded; had they made English and Orange a kind of Orange party against the Irish, and taught the Irish, that not trifling difficulties alone stood in the way of their claims, but the general and united opposition of the whole country. With respect to the influence of the Crown, it had been exercised during the last election in a most unexampled manner. In this country, to a

1807.

great degree, but in the sister kingdom most unblushingly, both in temptation and threats. In one borough in Ireland, a candidate had dared a single elector to vote against him; and he had been told, that in another popular contest, the Crown Solicitor had gone down, and informed Mr. Grogan, that the forfeiture of his estates would be enforced, unless he and all his tenantry voted for the partisans of government.

Government  
interferes in  
the Wexford  
election.

Upon this profligate and barefaced interference of a servant of government to influence the Wexford election, Mr. Whitbread stated from a paper, which he produced to the House, that Mr. Ormsby, the Solicitor for the forfeited estates in Ireland, went down to the election, and personally waited on a Mr. James Grogan, for the purpose of influencing him to support the ministerial candidates, by a promise of a restoration to the family of all the estates of his late brother, Cornelius Grogan, which had been forfeited. Ministers neither denied nor blamed, nor offered to investigate the fact or punish the delinquent. Mr. Perceval assured Lord Howick, that he had never before heard of it; and Sir Arthur Wellesley declared, that the government of Ireland had given no instructions to Mr. Ormsby on the subject: and any improper use of such influence was unknown to government. The actual abuse of the government influence, the overt negotiation of their confidential servant, and his subsequent impunity form a veil of too flimsy a texture not to be seen through.



Mr. Grattan, not only the friend, but the guardian of his country's rights, pointed the greatest part of his speech on this occasion to Ireland. He could not agree, that the late ministers had deserted the public cause, in their conduct with respect to the Catholic question. They had sacrificed their places to their principles. They had not refused to go out of office; but they had refused to give up their principles, and they were dismissed. He approved of the whole of their conduct with respect to the Catholics. In respect to the army, the measure lately proposed was already law in effect. The militia of Ireland stood on the foundation of this measure. The yeomanry of Ireland could not exist without it. It was equally essential to the army. The only object of the bill was to place on a liberal and candid footing what existed in effect. The act of the Irish Parliament was in the hands of the House, and the same reasoning applied to it. If it were not repealed, the gentlemen opposite gave up their argument; if it were repealed, they gave up the army, the Irish militia, the Irish yeomanry. Gentlemen contended, that the establishment would be shaken, if Catholics were on the staff; would these gentlemen say all was safe, if Catholics were not on the staff? This was as much as to say, that there was due loyalty in the Catholic officers, and none in the Catholic soldiers. To talk of thus tolerating the Catholics, was an attack upon the constitution and the army, not a defence of the church and state. In 1780 there was such another cry, *Burn the city to save the*

1807.

Mr. Grattan  
on the mes-  
sage of mi-  
nisters.

1807.

*church.* Such appeals were always incomparably little and mischievous ; they were not founded on any principle of religion, but were in fact political vices baptized. He was proud to state, that his country had, on the occasion of the late general election, exhibited the most exemplary conduct. This was the more to be commended, as a course of policy not the best for Ireland, was to be apprehended. It was not, that Ireland was satisfied with the conduct pursued towards it ; but that it would not be dissatisfied with England. If *No Popery* were written on the walls in England, it was not answered by writing *No England* on the walls in Ireland. The Irish people left the idle challenge to answer itself. They were too wise to put a serious comment on a senseless text. The college of Dublin would not vote the address proposed to it. That enlightened seat of learning, while educating the child of the Catholic, would not be guilty of the ungenerous inconsistency of addressing against the father. If the church were in danger, he was sure the college of Dublin would not be remiss in coming to its aid. The college of Dublin deserved the highest character for invariable performance of every duty to the King without servility, and for unshaken attachment to the constitution without illiberality. Even in the city of Dublin, there existed in reality as little idea, that the church was in danger.

Conduct of  
the different  
parties,  
with refer-  
ence to sine-  
cures.

It was observable, that upon the debates in each House, the friends of Lord Sidmouth voted for the address against the amendment. The mem-

bers, who were particularly attached to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, did not vote.\*

1807.

\* Although this circumstance does not at the first blush affect Ireland, it will, upon cool reflection be found, that it does in its consequences most materially touch her interests. She has always prided herself in the consciousness of his Royal Highness being particularly attached to her happiness and welfare. It has been before observed, that the Prince had taken a prominent part in the formation of the late ministry: his Highness must, of course, have felt a particular interest in the leading measures of that administration. Considering then his Royal Highness's known predilection for the Irish nation, and taking into the scale of reflection the weight of the Heir Apparent's interest in the navy and army of the Empire, it would have been natural, if not decent, to have consulted, or at least spoken to his Royal Highness about such a measure as Lord Howick's Catholic officers' bill. No communication was however made to his Royal Highness upon that or any other measures of the late ministers, for some time immediately previous to their dismissal. When the new arrangements, in which his Royal Highness took no part whatever, had been finally settled, he waited on his father; and with the appropriate feelings of an affectionate son, and the first subject of the empire, his R. Highness expressed to his Majesty deep regret, that the administration, in the formation of which he had taken so warm a part, had failed in giving that satisfaction to his Majesty and the nation, which had been his ardent wish and lively expectation. He respectfully assured his Royal father, that in his endeavours to bring around his Majesty the talent and virtue of the nation, he had sought no less the personal satisfaction of his Majesty than the security of the realm. He should thenceforth never interfere with those, whom in his wisdom his Majesty should vouchsafe to call to his councils. He would oppose none of their measures. Yet their principles would, he feared, withhold him from giving active support to *all* the measures his present ministers might advise. He fervently prayed for the longevity, health and happiness of



1807.

The adherents to the house of Northumberland were also neutral. In the late Parliament a bill had been introduced by Mr. Banks, engrafted upon the resolution of the House of Commons, on the 14th of March, against granting offices in reversion, to two or more persons, with benefit of survivorship; and it was pending at the time of the dissolution of the Parliament, which took place on the 26th of April. When Mr. Banks moved the House for leave to bring in a new bill similar to that, which had abated by the dissolution, Sir John Newport took the opportunity of stating, that in the bill introduced by him in the last session, for abolishing certain useless offices, and for the better regulation of other offices in Ireland, one had been omitted, which he since found ought to have been included. He meant the office of surveyor and inspector of the river Kenmare; an office created a few years since, and granted to Sir Boyle Roche and ——— Aylmer, Esq. with benefit of survivorship. There was no surveyor or inspector, of the same description for any other river in Ireland; it was quite a sinecure, with a salary of £.300 a year. It had been, he knew not how,

his Majesty, and that he might ever be attended by servants, who should prudently advise and zealously execute measures for securing the happiness and union of the monarch with his people, and thus perpetuate the prosperity of the Empire. Such is the source of that political inaction, which from that time pervaded the public conduct of his Royal Highness, till the recent melancholy events induced a temporary necessity of enabling his Royal Highness to exercise some portion of the executive powers of government.



1807.

omitted in the report of the commissioners of enquiry in Ireland, and therefore omitted in the bill brought in by him on that report. Mr. Herbert (of Kerry) said, that the river Kenmare lay principally in the county he had the honor to represent. Its course was forty miles long, and above five or six broad, with numberless creeks, and without a single revenue officer in its vicinity to controul the smuggling exercised upon it, till that office had been created. The smuggling had, shortly after that appointment, been greatly reduced. Lord Henry Petty was aware of the smuggling upon the river Kenmare: but that was a stronger reason for suppressing an useless sinecure, and substituting an active prevention. Sir Arthur Wellesley admitted, that the office appeared to be one of those, that ought to be regulated, rather than suppressed. It was, however, subject to the disposal of Parliament, as the vacancy created by the death of Sir Boyle Roche had not been filled up, unless it had been by the late ministers.

Of all the acts affecting Ireland, which passed during the first session of this *No Popery* Parliament, was the act to suppress insurrections and to prevent the disturbances of the public peace in Ireland.\* The debates and conduct of certain members of the legislative body upon the passing of that act produced a stronger effect upon the

Insurrection  
act, and its  
consequences.

\* 47 Geo. III. ch. xiii.

1807.

public mind in Ireland\* than the enactment of the law, with all its insulting severity. On the 9th of July, Sir Arthur Wellesley moved, according to notice, for leave to bring in that bill. The

The most marked, and perhaps the most to be lamented sensation produced upon the Irish, by the passing of this act was the creation of very general diffidence and suspicion of their old friend and favourite, Mr. Grattan. It is not to justify but to represent faithfully what the popular feeling actually was upon the novel occurrence of Mr. Grattan's giving his support to so adverse an administration, in imposing that galling and degrading measure upon his unoffending country. Short publications were widely circulated at different times to explain and keep alive the sense of this change of conduct in the father of Irish freedom. One of them published (and actually circulated in thousands), at the distance even of eighteen months from the period holds this strong language. "The Whigs are now succeeded by the very lees of Pitt's administration. The grim, desolating spectre of *No Popery* stalks around, and revives the dying embers of religious discord. The spirit of Lord George Gordon had transmigrated into ministers. Yet, in their worst measures they are supported by Henry Grattan! Whilst the heart strings of his country are torn asunder at his fall. The nation stands appalled at the bare sound of the deadly prescription issuing from the lips of such a doctor. His consistency, however is preserved; for, in conjunction with his friends late in power, he had himself generated the hideous monster, contrary to the principles of his better days. But is Mr. Grattan now the man, in whom we can with safety place confidence? or does he really wish to regain his popularity, and be restored to his wonted state of exaltation? Let him proclaim to the world his errors, into which he has been seduced, and wipe away the degrading stain, with which he has tarnished the national honor; let him, in the spirit of justice, move a repeal of his own bloody statutes, the arms and insurrection acts, and he will become once more the idol of his much injured country."

1807.  


House would remember, said he, that the circumstances which preceded and attended the suppression of the late rebellion in Ireland, had rendered stronger measures than the established laws afforded, necessary in that country. An act was therefore passed by the Irish Parliament, in the year 1796, to prevent unlawful assemblies, and to authorize the Lord Lieutenant, on a report of the magistrates, to proclaim any county, where disturbances existed. That law required all persons in such counties to keep within their dwellings between sun setting and sun rising, and gave to the magistrates the power of sending persons, who should offend against it on board his Majesty's navy. The act had proved effectual for the suppression of the insurrection, as appeared from the acknowledgment of the leaders of that insurrection before a committee of the Irish parliament. But, though such a law might be necessary, it was the duty of that House to guard against the abuse of the powers, which it gave. The bill he proposed to bring in contained the same provisions as the insurrection act, with respect to the power of the Lord Lieutenant to proclaim disturbed counties, and the authority of the magistrates to arrest persons, who should be found out of their dwellings between sun setting and sun rising; but in order to prevent hardships to the subject, he should propose some alterations as to the trial of persons arrested. On a question from Sir John Newport as to the duration of the bill, Sir Arthur Wellesley



1807.

Debates  
thereon.

proposed seven years. Even the Chancellor of the Exchequer thought that too long a period.

Mr. Lyttleton thought it extraordinary, that such a measure should proceed from the gentleman, who charged his side of the house with exciting ferment in the country, by reviving religious animosities, when the gentlemen opposite had laid so solid a foundation for the tranquillity of Ireland, by cutting off all hope of an equal participation of rights, which was the strongest incentive to loyalty and good conduct. Upon that Colonel Vereker said, he was not surprized, that this bill should be opposed by gentlemen of the opposition, as their whole conduct, for some time back, had been directed to excite religious animosities amongst the people of Ireland. Lord Howick said, he had lately heard many speeches, that surprized him; but never one, that astonished him more, than that of the Hon. Gentleman, who had last spoken. He surely, could not have been a witness of what had been passing, when he charged the gentlemen on his side of the house, with exciting religious animosities. It was a similar misconception in the Hon. Gentleman, to suppose and state, that they were opposing a measure, which was in some degree their own measure.

Mr. Grattan supports  
the Insurrection Bill.

Mr. Grattan said, he was sorry to find, that a bill of this kind was still necessary, but he really believed it to be so. He begged to observe, that the present bill was nearly the same with the original one and that, which was proposed last parliament; all violent measures certainly; and striking



against the principles of the constitution: but, at the same time, in a great degree necessary. With this conviction, he certainly did not mean to vote against them, provided they were limited to a certain extent. The present bill ought to be revisionary, or, as it were, to return upon the British constitution; the origin of them being a momentary and imperious necessity, they ought to cease, as soon as the danger was over. The Hon. Gentleman opposite (Colonel Vereker) mistook, if he meant to state, that those attached to the late administration are disposed to object totally to such a bill; it being so nearly the same, (viz. the Gunpowder and Arms Act) as that brought in by themselves. Their great object was to reconcile all parties; to unite both English and Irish to oppose the natural enemy of their country. He hoped that grand object would yet be effected; for he could assure the house, that the wisest way to defend the Empire, was to unite the people of this country with the people of Ireland.

Mr. Sheridan viewed this question in a very different light from his friends on the bench near him. The Hon Gentleman opposite (Colonel Vereker), had only anticipated an opposition, which this measure from its nature ought to encounter. His Right Hon. Friend had said, that the measure could only be justified by an imperious necessity; now it was that necessity, which he wished to have clearly made out to exist, before the measure was resorted to. It was no answer to him, that the measure had been prepared by his friends. If it

1807.

Mr. Sheridan  
singly  
opposes it.

1807.

had, the Threshers were then engaged in their disturbances, and administering unlawful oaths. Ireland was now as loyally tranquil as any part of the Empire. Would they state in the preamble of the bill, "Whereas, a very small part of Ireland was some time ago disturbed by the Threshers, and whereas that disturbance has been completely put down by the ordinary course of the law, and Ireland is now completely tranquil, be it therefore enacted, &c. That most extraordinary powers, &c." This was the case however, and until it should be shewn to him, that the necessity for the measure existed, he should oppose it in every stage.

The Insurrection Act the original measure of the Ex-ministers.

This measure for continuing the coercion of Ireland, originated with the ex-ministers, who had framed it nearly in the form, in which their successors brought it before the house. It has been before observed, that the people of Ireland experienced no other change from the late government, than that of some few names in the leaders. And those very leaders on this occasion avowed, that to their managers in Ireland were the people indebted for this execrated measure. Some of them raised objections in the committee against particular clauses of the bill, which broke in more deeply upon the rights of the subject, than the general necessity of continuing the system of coercion (even in their ideas) openly warranted. Mr. Elliott, who had been brought up in the school of Camden, under Pitt, was the parent and prominently officious sponsor of this measure. Under his directions had

1807.

it been modelled and perfected in Ireland, and had been so transmitted to England to be carried into effect by the Imperial Parliament. Lord Howick accordingly thus spoke in the committee. "I deprecate the idea, that any objection afforded by myself and my friends to the details of this measure, proceed from a disposition to oppose the principle of the measure itself. On the contrary, I am anxious to support the bill, with regard to its necessity, for which no change whatever has taken place in my sentiments, since my retirement from office. But as to the bill itself, I declare, that although a draft of it were sent to me from Ireland, just previous to the change of administration, I never read it, until lately introduced by the Right Hon. Baronet." The enlightened policy, the independent spirit and consistent conduct of Mr. Sheridan stood alone in defence and justification of Ireland. He gloriously dared to make a single stand in favor of his country, as he full well knew his inseparable friend on all occasions in politics Mr. Fox would have likewise done.

The principal clauses contested in the committee by some of the ex-ministers and their friends were, a clause whereby it was provided, "that magistrates might have the power to enter any houses, or authorize any person by warrant to do so, at any time from after sun-set to sun-rise, from which they should suspect the inhabitants, or any of them to be then absent, and cause absent persons to be apprehended, and

Contested  
clauses in  
the com-  
mittee.



1807.

“ deemed idle and disorderly, unless they could  
“ prove, they were absent upon their lawful occa-  
“ sions.” This clause was opposed by several; and  
by none more forcibly than by Mr. Grattan him-  
self, who observed, that, as the committee was  
about to invest an extraordinary power somewhere,  
it ought to be done with caution. But who were  
the persons to be vested with the power? Perhaps  
some lawless miscreant, some vagabond. Perhaps  
the discretion of that reasonable time was to be  
lodged in the bosom of some convenient menial,  
some postillion, coachman, hostler, or ploughboy,  
who under the sanction of the law was to judge,  
when it would be a reasonable time for him to rush  
into the apartment of a female, while she was has-  
tily throwing on her clothes, to open the door to  
this midnight visitor. This would give a wound,  
that would be felt long. It would throw a general  
odium about the bill. If the character of the bill  
could be saved, any thing admitting the possibility  
of such abuse, should be sacrificed to it. The next  
contested clause in the committee was of vital con-  
sequence to the subject, inasmuch as it went to  
take away his right of redress, from a jury of his  
country. “ Provided always, and be it further  
“ enacted, that when a verdict shall be given for  
“ the plaintiff in any action to be brought against  
“ any justice of the peace, peace officer, or other  
“ person, for taking or imprisoning, or detaining  
“ any person, or for seizing arms, or entering  
“ houses under colour of any authority given by  
“ this act, and it shall appear to the judge or

1807.

“ judges, before whom the same shall be tried,  
“ that there was a probable cause for doing the  
“ act complained of in such action, and the judge  
“ or court shall certify the same on record, then  
“ and in that case the plaintiff shall not be entitled  
“ to more than 6d. damages, nor to any costs of  
“ suit.” Sir Arthur Piggot, Mr. Whitbread, Lord  
Henry Petty, and Sir John Newport vehemently  
opposed this encroachment on the trial by jury;  
and it was tenaciously supported by the Attorney  
and Solicitor General (Sir Vicary Gibbs and Sir  
William Plumer) and Mr. Perceval. When the  
question was put upon the clause for the duration  
of the act (viz. for two years, and until the end of  
the next session of Parliament), it was suggested  
by Sir John Newport, that the act might be an-  
nual. The original clause was carried. This brought  
up Mr. Grattan once more, to explain his conduct  
in supporting the measure at all.

He began by deprecating the doctrine, that the  
existence of a power, if that power were not called  
into action, was not to be considered as a griev-  
ance. What, he would ask, was slavery? No-  
thing but sufferance. Great odium, he knew, at-  
tached in Ireland to the measure under the consi-  
deration of the committee. A variety of letters  
from that country, many of which he had himself  
received, fully satisfied him of this point. But  
still, from a consideration of the necessity of the  
case, he was ready to take his full share of that  
odium, by supporting the bill. That was a time,  
in which every man should be prepared to sacrifice,

Mr. Grat-  
tan in ex-  
planation.

1807.

not only some portion of his liberty, but of his credit; and he was ready to make some sacrifice of both for the good of the State. He understood from his Right Hon. friend beside him (Mr. Elliott), *that there were secret meetings of a dark and dangerous description in Ireland.* This formed a ground for the bill. He was afraid of a French interest in Ireland, and he wished, that government should be furnished with the means not merely of resisting, but of extirpating that interest, wherever and whenever it should appear\*.

\* Inasmuch, as Mr. Grattan openly and systematically professed his support to this bill, the author conceives it a duty to offer to the reader the most ample and minute report of his speech in the committee, which from the *Times* newspaper is as follows. "Mr. Grattan deprecated the continuance of the bill for so long a time, as that proposed by the clause now in discussion, and earnestly entreated the house to comply with the suggestion of his Right Hon. friend (Sir John Newport). The Right Hon. gentleman (Mr. Perceval), he said, had argued, that this bill would cease to operate, as soon as the occasion for it should cease, and that it could be no grievance, where it was not in operation. He (Mr. G.) denied the fact. Would the house without any proofs at its bar, or appointing any committee to enquire into the situation of Ireland, and report on the necessity of the case, proceed to pass a bill, abrogating in Ireland for three years the rights of the constitution, merely because, at present, there was a manifest disposition in some places, which called for vigilance, and the strong hand of coercion? Was it no grievance to declare the power of the crown absolute, and to authorize a government to proclaim the whole, or any part of the people of Ireland out of the King's peace, and liable to military execution or arbitrary transportation? But, supposing such a power vested in the hands of the most wise and humane Chief Governor, that ever existed, was it no grievance for a free people to feel themselves



The progress of the Insurrection Bill through the house of Lords furnished also much historical

1807.

Insurrection bill in the Lords.

placed in such a predicament for three whole years, without even any examination into the necessity of such a measure? Would the people of England think it no grievance, that Parliament should declare the power of the crown absolute for three years, even under the most mild, humane, and benevolent Monarch, that ever existed? He had said, that he would vote for this bill, because he was sorry to say, there existed some necessity for it. He knew it was extremely unpopular in Ireland, from the hundreds of letters he himself had received upon the subject; but still, under the existence of some necessity, he was ready to vote for the bill, and to take his own full share of odium and unpopularity attached to it. This was a time, in which every man should be prepared to sacrifice, not only some portion of his liberty, but of his station also, for the safety and security of his country: he was ready to sacrifice both, for the good of the State, because he would rather give up his situation as representative of his country, than sacrifice the public security at the shrine of popularity. He was assured, by his Right Hon. friend near him, (Mr. Elliott) that there were in various parts of Ireland, secret and nocturnal meetings of a dark and dangerous nature. This called for the bill; and therefore he would vote for it even without the modification of the clause required by the Right Hon. Baronet. But he most earnestly entreated of the house, and of the Right Hon. Gentleman opposite to him, not to push this bill to an extent so unnecessary, which even the Irish Parliament, at a period, and in a state of things much more generally alarming, only passed for one year, afterwards for two, and last, in the hour of its death, before the Union, extended to seven years. The feeling he wished the house to impress by this bill upon the people of Ireland was, that it was a measure of necessity, which would cease with the cause, and subside with the disposition it was intended to correct; but he seriously apprehended, that its enactment for three years, would tend to aggravate the mischiefs it was intended to correct, because by evincing to the people of Ireland an indifference towards extend-

1807.

document upon the state of Ireland at that critical period. On its second reading on the 23d of July,

ing to them British privileges, a question might arise in their minds, whether to prefer the military government of France, or the suspended constitution of England. The question in Ireland had now nothing to do with religious conflict or republican principle, but it was simply this; whether Ireland should continue a portion of the British Empire; or become, not a portion of France, but absolutely nothing? For annihilation would be her fate under French conquest. He knew well, France would have her spies in Ireland to create a French party, and to foment a connection, first by coquetting, but with a view to meretricious intercourse. This was the danger he most deprecated, and against the possibility of which he desired to caution that house, and to warn his countrymen. It was not merely by this bill, or any other measure of legal expediency, that this danger was to be avoided, but by that species of parental and friendly treatment, which, counsels while it restrains, and admonishes, while it corrects. He would recommend the gentlemen of that country not at this crisis to content themselves with mere precaution, or to rely upon measures of severity and irritation. He counseled them to go personally from hamlet to hamlet, from house to house, to canvas the people for their country, with the same zeal; with which they canvassed votes for their elections. To open their eyes to the dangerous and ruinous consequence of French connection; and to hold out to them the solemn assurance of redress of all their grievances, and the abolition of all invidious distinctions and disabilities on the score of religion.— (A cry of No! no!) Gentlemen who say No, continued Mr. Grattan, know nothing of the interests of Ireland, and don't understand their own. Believe me, in this hour of peril, said he, the aid of the people of Ireland is of the utmost importance to the Empire, and you stand in need of it all. It is of the last importance then; that you canvas for it in the way most likely to secure it. I earnestly advise, that on the subject of Catholic emancipation, which I shall not discuss now; the minds and hopes of the people may be set at rest, by the solemn assurances,

Lord Hawkesbury knowing what had been said upon it in the Commons, particularly by Mr. Grattan, on which the ministers highly plumed themselves, ushered in the subject with more than ordinary official confidence in his majority. He could not under all the circumstances of the case foresee, that any material objection would be made to the bill; not only because it was brought for-

that their firm and loyal adherence to England in this last and most perilous struggle, shall be the price of their complete admission to all the rights of the British constitution, consistent with reason and justice. Nations are often the arbiters of their own fate, and it is now in your power to secure that inviolable attachment, with which you may reckon on your security. But without which, that security, I fear, would be problematical. I again earnestly entreat gentlemen connected with Ireland, to use every means in their power to excite amongst the people an attachment to the Empire, and above all to that fundamental maxim of British policy, to have nothing to do with France. Mr. Grattan concluded by repeating his own support of the bill, deprecating however, the long term of its proposed continuance. He knew his conduct might, in this case, be unpopular amongst many of his countrymen, but he never would capitulate with popular error, though he should ever respect popularity, when attendant on virtue."

It appears obvious to remark, that if a French party existed in Ireland at that time, it had been of many years growth: but had assumed no tangible form, like the White Boys, Defenders, Orangemen and Threshers. One year's operation of the Insurrection Act would not extirpate it: and three years continuance would (by Mr. Grattan's own avowal) tend to increase it. The Irish Catholics, who had ever looked up with unqualified confidence to Mr. Grattan's support, universally maintained, that in reason and justice they were admissible to all the rights of the British constitution without any exception.



1807.

ward in a milder shape than that, in which the Parliament of Ireland had passed similar acts, but because it was known to have been in the contemplation of the late administration, to bring forward the very measure now proposed, and with which therefore, the noble lords on the other side would not be much disposed to quarrel.

Lord Hol-  
land.

Lord Holland declared, that in rising to admit an assumed necessity for this bill, he felt himself, as a British senator, and as a member of their lordships house, humbled and degraded, that such a necessity should have been so long suffered to exist. He hoped, that when the house was under the feelings of imperious necessity, depriving the people of Ireland of their constitutional rights, it would at the same time apply itself to the examination of that necessity, and to remedy those grievances, which were the source of it. It would be criminal to vote for such a measure, without impressing the commanding urgency of redressing those discontents, which produced this lamentable necessity. And however language, passion, sophistry and false reasoning might endeavour to distort the facts, or to trace them to fabricated causes, he would insist, that, upon the principles of human nature, upon the irresistible motives of the human character, it was impossible, that discontent should unceasingly, violently, and generally continue in so extensive a portion of the Empire, unless there were some radical defects in the system of its government, some mode of policy directly hostile to the interests and happiness of the people. With this truth he was so

1807.

strongly impressed, and the knowledge of Ireland had so completely exemplified it, that he was determined to shut his ears to those foul calumnies, which were so unjustly circulated against Ireland; to those degrading characteristics, which he had so often heard affixed to that brave, generous, liberal and gallant people. Was there any ground for confidence in such charges, it would be best, at once, to tell the people of that country, that, instead of the idle mockery of limiting the bill, it was to continue as their inheritance. Indeed he would say farther, if there did exist a people so vitiated in mind, and depraved in habit, whom no kindness could conciliate, or sense of gratitude bind, he knew not whether it would not be the more manly policy to extirpate, rather than enslave them. But he denied, that within the sphere of society there were beings of such a description. There were no created beings, who, when well treated, were not easily subjected to obey the precepts of good order and subordination. Could man exhibit an exception to this general proposition? It was in human nature, that exclusion and proscription would, if not generate discontent, at least diminish that sense of loyalty and constitutional attachment, which was most inspired and promoted by the estimate of the blessings enjoyed. At the same time he asserted, that no feeling of that kind could justify the indulgence of disloyal hopes and foreign views. Ruin and calamity would be the certain result to those, who were so deluded. With him it was no argument now to support the

1807.

measure, because the same was deemed advisable by the late administration. It was quite a different consideration to vest extraordinary powers in a government, the anxiety of which was to allay the causes of discontent, to conduct itself in the spirit of conciliation, and to feel ready to grant them to a set of ministers, with whose principles he did not coincide, and of whose intentions he could not but be suspicious. Besides, there were other measures in contemplation, which would in a short time have precluded the necessity of continuing this act. It was hoped, that by granting to the Catholics their birth-right, for such he designated their claims, by modification of tythes, and, above all, by a mild and conciliatory government, the causes of Irish discontent and disaffection would have been in a great degree removed. Such hopes the Irish people were warranted to indulge by the Union; and there was not a man in or out of Parliament, who could conscientiously lay his hand on his heart and affirm, that they were not cruelly and unwisely disappointed. He concluded an animated and able speech, by trusting the house would devote days, hours, and even months to the state of Ireland, to an examination of its grievances, and to an effectual remedy for its misfortunes.

Earl of Limerick and  
Duke of Bedford.

The Earl of Limerick thought the introduction of a question relative to the Catholic claims wholly irrelevant to the bill. Had the principles of the present measure been acted upon during the late administration in Ireland, he thought the disturbances could not have extended, so far as they did.



The Duke of Bedford could not be silent, when such an insinuation was thrown out upon his conduct, while chief governor of Ireland. He could not sit silent and hear the noble Earl (Limerick) charge upon his head the blood, which had been spilled, and the disturbances, which had taken place, without making some reply. It was true, application had been made to him by the magistrates of a particular district (in the county of Sligo) to declare it in a state of insurrection; when, upon due consideration of all the circumstances, and with the counsel and advice of those, who were better acquainted with the subject, he did in the end resist the application. While he had the honor of presiding over that part of the United Kingdom, he had always acted to the best of his judgment, assisted by those, who were fully competent and acquainted with the local circumstances of that country.

Earl Kingston thought, that the magistrates appointed by the late administration, were in a great measure the cause of the disturbances. To his knowledge, in one particular district (he meant the county of Wexford), a person had been appointed a magistrate, who had the halter about his neck \* during the former rebellion. His Lordship therefore strenuously supported the measure. The Earl of Hardwicke was inimical to the practice of proclaiming districts, where it could possibly be avoid-

1807.  
Earls of  
Kingston,  
Hardwicke,  
and Lord  
Carleton.

\* This refers to what has been before said of Mr. Breen of Taghmon. Lord Kingston had the halter round his own neck fully as close, as Mr. Breen. (*Vide antea*, 2 Vol. p. 370)

1807.

ed. With respect to the bill, its necessity had been so forcibly urged to him by persons possessing a competent knowledge of the state of Ireland, that he could not object to it. Lord Carleton deprecated the tendency of that line of argument, which the noble Lord on the opposition bench (Lord Holland) had thought proper to pursue, because he thought that argument calculated to justify the disturbances, which had so lately agitated Ireland. With regard to the statements of the noble Lords, who had lately presided over the government of Ireland, he would not admit, that they should operate against this bill. For although those noble Lords, in the circumstances, which arose during their respective administrations, saw no necessity for acting on the law, which this bill proposed to re enact, it did not therefore follow that this bill was unnecessary. Lord Hardwicke in explanation stated, that this bill was much more obnoxious to him, than the existing law, because by this bill the responsibility of those, who were to execute the law, was in a great measure done away in consequence of the introduction of new clauses.

Earl Sel-  
kirk.

Earl Selkirk declared himself a decided friend to Catholic emancipation : but still thinking, that in consequence of a very long train of mismanagement towards Ireland, such indeed as no nation had ever before experienced, and the effects of which were too inveterate to be immediately cured by Catholic emancipation, or by any one measure of conciliation, he felt himself bounden to vote for this bill ; the necessity for which he sincerely de

explored. Much, he thought, must be done towards fully reconciling Ireland to its connection with England ; and certainly one of the measures should be Catholic emancipation. The benefits of which were to his judgment obvious, while the dangers were but imaginary. As to the benefits, one of the first would be to put an end to a Catholic political party in Ireland, to which party persons adverse to the measure so much objected. But this party owed the origin of its existence, and the cement of its connection to the Catholic disabilities. Let those disabilities be removed, and the party would be heard of no more ; but while the disabilities were suffered to continue, so long would the party they affected continue to combine. The oppression of any body of men, as a body, would ever dispose such men to confederate for their common relief and protection. This was human nature.

The bill, as prepared by Mr. Elliott, and introduced by Sir A. Wellesley, passed into law, with the following vague and indeterminate preamble.

“ Whereas tumultuous insurrections have from time to time existed in various parts of Ireland, principally promoted by persons associating under the pretended obligations of oaths unlawfully administered.” This preamble was certainly no key to open the meaning of this statute : for neither Mr. Elliott the suggester of, nor Mr. Grattan the believer in the existence of a French party in Ireland, nor the ministerialists, who proposed, nor the ex-ministerialists (with the illustri-

1807.

Insurrection Bill passes.



1807.

ous exception of the patriotic\* Sheridan), who supported the bill, even remotely hinted at the locality, number, or nature of the French party; nor whether they were at all associated or bounden by oaths, or any species of obligation to one another. However loyal and tranquil Ireland was, she was still to be coerced; because *tumultuous insurrection had from time to time existed in various parts of Ireland*. Coercion therefore must be her perpetual doom: for that averment can never now be negated.

Irish Arms  
Bill.

The Irish Arms Bill produced much discussion in both houses of a similar tendency, with that which arose out of the Insurrection Bill. The opposition having once admitted the necessity of coercing the country, at that particular time, though no other proof of turbulence, or tumultuary disposition was adduced before either house, than Mr. Ex-Secretary Elliott's general and unproved whisper to Mr. Grattan, that nocturnal meetings had been holden. Mr. Perceval profited of the admission, and drove his opponents to lengths, at which they indignantly recoiled, when the renovation of the system came to be canvassed in detail. His majority however carried all with a high hand. The opposition ungraciously combated in detail, the very system, they had themselves framed, and intended to carry into effect, had they remained in power. Objections were raised to nocturnal searches

\* Every true Irishman is convinced, that had Mr. Curran been in his proper place in the Senate, Mr. Sheridan would not have stood alone in the pass to defend his country.

for arms, as they could evidently be more readily discovered by day: and it was urged, that the right of search should be confined to proclaimed districts, as it was provided for by the Insurrection Act. Mr. Perceval on the contrary insisted, that a period of tranquillity, namely, before districts were proclaimed, might be that, in which it would be most proper and necessary to act upon this law and search for arms, in order to take away the weapons of those, who might be disposed to disturbance. That principle, Mr. Sheridan fairly observed, might be equally carried to England and Scotland\*. On this bill Mr. Grattan himself seems to have been silent. But his whispering counsel Mr. Elliott, persisted in loudly deploring the necessity for it, and fastidiously quarrelled about the precarious duration of that necessity, for 12, 18, or 30 months. He was the only member of the opposition, who spoke for this unfounded and uncalled-for measure of suspending the constitution throughout all Ireland at once. He offered no evi-

1807.

\* One of the earliest proofs of the determination of the present administration to restore to full vigor and activity, the very little attempted by their immediate predecessors to let down or weaken the overbearing abuses of the Orange magistracy, came out on the debate upon the Arms Bill. Sir John Newport stated, that in the revision of the Wexford magistracy, Mr. Ponsonby had superseded a Mr. Jacob (notorious even in the body of the Wexford magistracy). Lord Manners reinstated him: and he celebrated the triumph of his restoration, by marching on the 12th of July into the town of Enniscorthy at the head of an Orange corps with all the *insignia* of their institution, which are so peculiarly obnoxious to the population of Ireland.

1807.

dence of any fact or circumstance to justify it : but most unaccountably attempted to prove the exigency of this unconstitutional coercion, by the vital necessity of Catholic emancipation, because Mr. Emmett had assured the committee of the Irish Parliament, that the refusal of that measure was an efficacious means of promoting insurrection. The credit, which Mr. Grattan had given to Mr. Elliott's whispering suggestions of a necessity for the Insurrection Bill continued to work its effect upon some, who deprecated the Arms Bill. Mr. Lushington expressly declared, that though he saw the necessity of previously investigating the state of Ireland, and doing away the most objectionable parts of the bill, yet *he could not refuse his assent to it, particularly considering the impression, which seemed to have been made on one of the best friends of Ireland, Mr. Grattan.* The wicked principle of the bill roused some into the dignity of judging for themselves ; and they rallied in defence of Ireland. Mr. G. Ponsonby said, " Sir, I rise to declare my  
 " decided opposition to the principle of this bill.  
 " I could not reconcile it to my conscience tacitly  
 " to hear such a bill passed, much less to give my  
 " assent to this wanton, uncalled-for, and tyrannical suspension of the constitution of Ireland.  
 " The state of Ireland is the best answer to the alleged necessity. It is both *loyal and tranquil* ;  
 " and in the charges, which have been made, and  
 " the measures of coercion founded upon those  
 " charges, it is with regret I call it a calumniated  
 " and injured country. Some counties have been



“ alluded to, in which a spirit of insurrection is  
“ alleged to have manifested itself. The county  
“ of Tipperary has been particularly mentioned.  
“ In answer, I can safely affirm, that from the  
“ most anxious inquiry I have found such state-  
“ ments to be both incorrect and unfounded.”

1807.

Lord Milton, Mr. Peter Moore, Mr. Whitbread, Sir A. Piggott, Mr. Dillon, and some others spoke also vehemently against the bill. Some of them said, that in voting for the Insurrection Bill, out of respect and deference to Mr. Grattan, they had voted for a measure, which might only eventually take effect, and that partially and under peculiar circumstances; whereas the Arms Bill operated universally and unconditionally throughout the country. Mr. Sheridan said, that if the former bill seemed odious in its form and substance, this was ten thousand times more so; it was really abominable. But at the same time, as if it were meant to make the measure both odious and ridiculous, it was so constructed, as that it would plunder the people of their arms, and put down the trade of a blacksmith. Nothing like a blacksmith was to exist in Ireland, lest he might possibly form something like a pike. If ever there were an instance, in which the liberties of a loyal people were taken from them, and they were thereby tempted to become disloyal, it was the present. Indeed from the general spirit, with which the bill was framed, he thought there only wanted a clause to make it high treason for any man to communicate either of these bills to Napoleon Bonaparte, Emperor of the

Violent op-  
position to  
the Arms  
Bill.

1807.

French, lest he should conceive them to be direct invitations to him to visit that part of his Majesty's Empire. But what had been done for the protection of Ireland? An experienced military officer, the Secretary to the representative of his Majesty, was sent up the Baltic, and they garrisoned Ireland with two arbitrary acts of parliament. The Chancellor of the Exchequer opposed the amendment, because the effect of it would be to bring the question respecting Ireland into discussion more frequently, than was consistent with prudence; and probably by such discussion inflame that necessity, which occasioned the adoption of this bill. Mr. Sheridan replied to the objection urged by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that this objection was precisely the ground, upon which he would be content to rest the qualification of the vote he meant to give. For, so far from wishing to prevent, his anxious desire was, that the affairs of Ireland should be frequently and fully discussed. He deprecated the idea of blinking that question. It was of too much importance to be overlooked; and inasmuch as Ireland was essential to the existence of the Empire, its concerns were entitled to the first consideration of Parliament.

Various acts  
of the legis-  
lature con-  
cerning Ire-  
land.

Nothing was so much dreaded by the ministers, as the agitation of any question, that involved Ireland. It naturally led to the pledges and tenure, by which they held their offices. Mr. Sheridan had given notice of his intended motion on the state of Ireland. The latter part of the session was chiefly devoted to Irish matter. About a dozen acts were

1807.

passed in the last month of the session, for encreasing, regulating, and better securing the collection of taxes and excisable commodities, and preventing frauds. The commissioners of Kilmainham were enabled to regulate and grant pensions to soldiers, as the commissioners of Chelsea Hospital were in England. The Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer was for conveniency made one of the commissioners for executing the office of the Lord High Treasurer in England, though without any encrease of salary. The Glebe-house act was amended: and the act for improving and extending the Irish fisheries was continued for 21 years. And acts were passed for allowing a certain proportion of the militia in Ireland voluntarily to enlist in his Majesty's regular forces\*, and for encreasing the Irish militia.

\* It is notorious, that upon the whole of the Irish militia force far above two thirds of the men are Catholics: and it is well known, that the militia commissioned officers (except as to five or six regiments), are all Protestants, who use every plausible device to prevent their Protestant men from volunteering into the line. The only test required of these Catholic volunteers is the following oath prescribed to be taken by that act. "I swear to be faithful and bear true allegiance to our Sovereign Lord King George, and to serve him honestly and faithfully in defence of his person, crown and dignity, against all his enemies and opposers whatever, and to observe and obey his Majesty's orders, and the orders of the Generals and Officers set over me by his Majesty, until I shall legally be discharged." 47 Geo. III. c. lv. s. xiii. As the legislature has thought this general oath sufficient to bind the fidelity of such Catholic soldiers, as volunteer from the militia to the line, can it be conceived, that it should not be made the test of military service, and be substituted in lieu of those other oaths, by the refusal of which the recruit incurs a



1807.

Mr. Sheridan's motion on the state of Ireland.

On the 13th of August, Mr. Sheridan introduced his long promised motion on the state of Ireland by an eloquent and interesting speech. The proposition he had to submit to the house was in consequence of the two bills (the Insurrection and Arms Bills), lately brought into Parliament; one of which had on that very day only passed into a law. He thought, that if the resolution, which he was about to propose, should be agreed to by the house, and go over to Ireland at the same time with those bills, it would have a great effect in preventing that irritation, which the bills might otherwise produce, in mitigating those feelings, which must, in some measure, be excited. As to those bills, which were intended to have been brought in by the late administration, he should say nothing. He hoped now to gain the almost unanimous sense of the house to the proposition he meant to submit, and should not, therefore, stop to draw comparisons between the ministers, who were to have introduced those bills, with the ministers, who have introduced the present bills. He should not take into consideration the great difference, that it makes when they were giving great powers, to consider into whose hands they were to be committed. The principal argument, that he foresaw against his motion was, that it was such a delicate subject, that the less, that could be said about it the better; that the ground was so tender, that it was dangerous to tread upon it. What

civil death. See what has been before remarked on this subject in a note, vol. i. p. 165.

1807.

was this, but saying in other words, we must legislate for this country blindfolded? Such was the argument used by his Majesty's ministers. The Chancellor of the Exchequer confessed, he knew but little of the state of Ireland. The great law officers of the crown, the Attorney and Solicitor General, pretended no more: ministers appeared to wish to know nothing of Ireland. They were content to legislate for her without understanding her real situation. Could there be a stronger proof of this, than the different lights and authorities, by which the house was influenced? One great authority said, there is no tendency to tumult or insurrection in Ireland; another (a noble Lord, in another place), confirms the statement. When the troops are drawn away from Ireland and sent to the Baltic, to assist the views of the King of Sweden, we are told there is no danger; but yet, when those bills are brought into the house, we are told again, that there is great danger, and much tendency to insurrection in Ireland. Notwithstanding all the whispers he had heard, and the hearsay authorities, on which those severe measures were grounded, he found, that most of the public documents shewed, that the state of things in Ireland was different from the actual account given by those whisperers, upon whose authority others, as well as ministers, seemed entirely to rely. In the county of Tipperary, Judge Fox, at the assizes, congratulated the county, upon the peace it enjoyed. On the whole calendar, there was not a single man found guilty of any act of sedition or

1807.

disloyalty. In the county of Kilkenny also, the grand jury, in a solemn and authentic document, took notice of the happy state of that county, and of the harmony, which existed between the Protestants and the Catholics. On the other hand, there was the authority of Mr. Grattan, whose great talents and independance he highly admired, as an Irishman. Although he (Mr. Sheridan) had principally resided in England, he felt a debt of gratitude to him for his great exertions in former times for the independance and happiness of Ireland. So highly did he respect his authority, that he could not help balancing it against all those great authorities on the other side, and felt considerable doubt, and hesitation how he should determine in his mind. But when those solemn and deliberate documents, which he had alluded to, were contrasted with his great authority, when there was that great contradiction among the authorities, it appeared to him, that it was an imperious duty for Parliament, even upon that very ground of difference, to take this important subject into its most serious consideration. Let it not be said, that we fly from the consideration of the topic, and legislate merely from hearsay. Let it not be said, that we are either prevented by indolence, or by timid apprehension of danger, from fairly considering the grounds of those extraordinary measures, which have been resorted to with respect to Ireland. No man could be more free than himself from the suspicion of wishing to stir up sedition, mutiny, or disaffection, in any part of the Em-



1807

pire. No man living could see with more detestation, than he would those miserable traitors (if any such existed in Ireland), who would surrender the constitution and liberties of their country to a foreign tyrant. He did not deny, that some such wretches might exist in Ireland; but he was convinced, that their number was very small. When he looked at all the appearances, he could not believe, that there was any danger of a general and alarming spirit of insurrection in that country. If you persist, said Mr. Sheridan, in disarming the Irish people, and that country should ever be invaded, I have only two questions to ask you; When you have taken from the Irish people their arms, what are they to fight the enemy with? When you have taken away their constitution, what are they to fight for? But I am told by some of those high authorities, that there is certainly a French faction existing in Ireland. I ask, When was there not a French faction in that country? Since the days of Queen Elizabeth, England has pursued such a vile and narrow policy towards Ireland, that naturally drove many of the high-spirited youths of that country, who were connected with the Catholic faith, to seek for an asylum in France; from which they regularly corresponded with their friends in Ireland. That was the cause, which produced a French faction in Ireland, and an Irish faction in France. Before the concessions, which were made in the course of the present reign, the treatment of Ireland was worse, than the treatment of any country, which ever was con-

1807.

quered and oppressed by the vilest of tyrants. Many important concessions have certainly been made during the present reign. But there is a mode of conferring benefits and boons, that makes the obligation little felt, and hardly excites gratitude. There appeared to be an extraordinary vanity in the modes, that had been resorted to for oppressing Ireland. Sometimes it was done by attacking the rich, sometimes by grinding and scourging the poor, and at other times by striking at the pursuits of commercial men. Martial law was under certain circumstances, a constitutional force. When martial law was, however, proclaimed in its proper shape, it was well watched by the vigilance of those, who were submitted to it; the necessity of it must be apparent; and those, who proclaim it, act under a most serious responsibility. This measure was infinitely worse than martial law, because it became disguised, and freed from responsibility in those, who were to exercise it. It was martial law in masquerade; that had not the boldness to avow itself. It was martial law, free from responsibility, and extended for a length of time to ourselves, that are in perfect peace. It has always been the sense and practice of the constitution of this country, that the people should be armed to meet any danger, which threatened them. Experience, and the history of all nations, but particularly of the English nation, shewed, that an armed people are, among themselves, full as peaceable, if not more so, than a people disarmed and driven to despair. The ancient Kings of England never

1807.

thought there was any danger, nor ever found any, from calling the nation to arms, whatever private discontents might exist. Where then was the necessity of treating Ireland in a manner so very different from that, in which England had always been treated? The disaffection and the danger in England had been much greater, than was pretended then to exist in Ireland. When the Pretender was alive, and there were millions of Jacobites in the country, and before their hopes were cut down in the year 1745, no English minister ventured to propose such measures, as had been adopted for Ireland; although from the difference of authorities, there seemed considerable doubt, whether there actually were any considerable or alarming disaffection at that time in Ireland. Did any English minister ever think of proposing a law, that Englishmen were to be taken up, if out of their beds after sun-set; and all the rest of the catalogue of severities, which were enacted against Ireland. But it was said, that this was only a suspension of the constitution in Ireland for three years. That mode of giving leases to the crown of the constitution and liberties of the country he disliked. Leases of this sort were too apt to be renewed, and in the present case the crown had had the lease for 14 years, and it had been just renewed for three years longer. Would the constitution ever be restored to Ireland? He feared, that a people, who so quietly resigned their liberties to the crown for a time, would never regain them. It was impossible, but that the Irish must remem-



1807.

ber all the fine promises, which were made at the Union; not one of which had been realized. As to that freedom of constitution, and equal rights, which Ireland was promised at that time, she had been most egregiously duped and trifled with. The state of the lower orders of the people in Ireland had been much misrepresented in England. Many supposed, that they were incorrigible, idle, and naturally so turbulent and disorderly, that it was impossible to make them comfortable or happy. Those, who thought so, knew little, and had read little of the state of the Irish peasantry. If they looked at the labourers in England, they would find a very different character. Many of them shewed considerable enterprize, when they came to England for bread; and deserved great praise, when they returned to share it with their families. Almost all the hard work in London was done by Irishmen, and the watchmen and patroles, to whom the security of the city was committed at night, were almost exclusively of that country. Will it then be said that those, who in this country, shewed themselves to be hardy, robust, industrious and faithful, had none of those qualities, when they were in their own country? If they did not shew the same qualities there, it is from gross mismanagement on the part of their rulers. Mr. Sheridan then called upon the house to see how Bonaparte employed his time, while we consumed ours in trifling wrangles! He had surrounded his Empire, not merely with such an iron barrier as the anity and ambition of Louis XIV. aspired to: he

had surrounded it with empires and kingdoms of his own creation. He had bounden the Sovereigns of those countries to him by benefits, and by the ties of obligation. Their gratitude would serve as hostages, and their fears would be sufficient pledges of their fidelity. States of his own creation were the martello towers, which defended his Empire, and Sovereigns were his sentinels. What ally now remained to this country, and what was the measure, which he proposed? An affectionate alliance with Ireland: not with money, but acts of justice. Justice was all, that Ireland asked for, or looked for at their hands. If they were prepared to do justice to Ireland, they would gain an ally more faithful and more important, than any you had lost upon the continent. He then concluded, by moving the following resolution.

“ That the house will immediately on the meeting of the ensuing session of Parliament, proceed to take into their most serious and solemn consideration the state and condition of Ireland, in the anxious hope, that such measures and remedies may be safely adopted in regard to the discontents alleged to exist in that country, as may render unnecessary the continuance of those provisions, which the legislature of the United Kingdom has deemed it expedient reluctantly to adopt at the close of the present session, and the permanence of which would be a violation of the rights of the people of Ireland, and a subversion of the spirit and practice of our free constitution.”

1807.

Mr. Perceval opposes Mr. Sheridan's motion.

Mr. Perceval deprecated the time, spirit, and substance of Mr. Sheridan's speech, and moved the previous question. On which Mr. Grattan\* in-

\* Mr. Grattan's support of an intolerant administration, which coerced his country without even an offer to produce evidence for the necessity of the measure, was a phenomenon, that amazed and confounded some of his staunchest friends. As, however he chose this opportunity, after three weeks reflection upon many observations made by his countrymen on his conduct, to vindicate it in the eyes of the public, it would be a presumption in any other person to offer apology, explanation or defence, which he has not thought proper to adopt. As full a report, therefore, as can be procured of his speech on this occasion is given: not only, because no other argument could so powerfully as his own, explain his conduct: but because this, like all his speeches superabounds with information and instruction. Mr. Sheridan, in his reply, said truly of it, that "his Right Hon. friend had made a more able speech in favour of his motion, than he himself could possibly have done. That speech was characteristic of his wonted genius and eloquence, and every thing must be full of genius, animation and eloquence, that came from him. This very speech was one great instance of the benefits to be derived from the motion now submitted to the House, for his Right Honourable friend had in the course of it thrown out more information respecting the state of Ireland, than had been communicated by any other member, at any period for some time past."

Mr. Grattan said, that having been alluded to on the present evening, as well as on a former occasion, as an authority respecting the particular state of Ireland, he would wish to make some few observations on the present motion. With respect to the bills, that had lately passed the House, he would say, that if he had voted at all, it would certainly have been for the shorter term of their duration. He expressed himself in terms of high admiration of the sentiments, that had just been delivered by his Hon. friend (Mr. Sheridan), in bringing forward the requisition, which he had submitted to the consideration of the House; sen-



1807.

stantly rose, to support so much of his friend's motion, as went to institute an enquiry into the state

timents, he said, which excited in him the deepest gratitude, and which must excite the same in the breast of any Irishman, from the very kind and favourable opinion they conveyed of the loyalty, zeal and attachment of the people of that country to the government of this. The very eloquent and animated manner, in which those sentiments were delivered, could not fail to make a deep impression on all, who were interested for that part of the United Empire; and if he differed from his Right Hon. Friend in any respect on the present occasion, it was not in the sentiments themselves, but in the particular application of them. His Right Hon. Friend had stated, that he thought the passing of the bills (the Insurrection and Arms Bills) was not necessary; for his own part he could not but differ from him most pointedly on that head. His Right Hon. Friend had also stated, that there had always been a French party in Ireland. He allowed the justice of that statement; but he begged the House and his Right Hon. Friend to recollect, that there was a very great difference between a party, that had existed, and a party that now existed; and not only that; but there was also a great difference in the times, and now that France was become such a gigantic power, and a French party existed in Ireland, that was alone, in his opinion, a good reason for adopting a strong measure. There might be times, when the common law of the land was by no means sufficient for the safety and security of the country; and when that was the case, strong measures must be resorted to. He did not mean to say, that the people of Ireland were in general disaffected; on the contrary, he joined with his Right Hon. Friend in the belief, that they were generally loyal and firmly attached to the government of this country. It was not, however, sufficient to say, that some particular counties were undisturbed. Mr. Justice Fox, he had no doubt, was very right in what he had said of the counties of Tipperary, Wexford, and Kilkenny; but there might be discontented parties in other quarters, which were sufficient to justify the extraordinary powers given by the bill lately passed. His Right Hon. Friend had stated, that the

1807.

of Ireland; but not that, which condemned the two bills lately passed. Mr. Dillon, Mr. Wynd-

people of Ireland were in a state of perfect tranquillity, and that a person of the highest authority in another place, had given it as his opinion, that the Arms Bill was unnecessary. That high authority might think so; but he could not agree with him on that head. The great object of the Arms Bill seemed not to be fully understood: it had in view the disarming, not the great mass of the people, but certain portions of them, who were rebels, and who went about the country to the houses of the farmers and gentlemen, who were known to have arms, and plundered them of the same, to use them for rebellious purposes; and one of the objects of the bill was to take from these robbers the power of doing that. Another object of the act was to prevent compulsory oaths from being administered and other matters, which tended to promote and infuse insurrection. He allowed, that those acts were unconstitutional, and alluded to the dying request of Lord Kilwarden, which had been frequently quoted. That noble Lord, had, however, given his entire approbation to acts of a similar tendency. Lord Yelverton, also, who was universally allowed in Ireland to be a constitutional Judge, had sanctioned similar measures in 1796 and in 1798. There had also been at that time a very constitutional Attorney General and Solicitor General, the former of whom had drawn the first bill introduced on that subject. When he saw, therefore, that the most constitutional lawyers had all agreed in the necessity of resorting to such measures; much as he admired the eloquent arguments of his Right Hon. Friend, he must say, that if he were to be called on, he would, for the safety and security of Ireland, vote for those acts. In former times, the Irish legislature had passed acts of a similar kind against different disturbers of the public peace, such as against the *White Boys*, and afterwards against the *Hearts of Steel* and *Peep of Day Boys*. He could not therefore think, that the people of Ireland could conceive, that House indifferent to their rights, and careless of their interests, because they had passed those acts. He was certain, that much stronger bills than these would not do half the mischief

ham, Lord William Russell, and Mr. Herbert, spoke strongly in support of the motion, but the

1807.

to the freedom of Ireland, as a revival of the old disturbances and insurrections would. Gentlemen, who thought otherwise, forgot the present situation of the country; they forgot, that France was at our doors; and it was necessary to remind them, that in such a situation, we were not to look at the state of things on the mere principle of right or wrong, but on the imperious necessity of predominating circumstances.

It had been the invariable practice to suspend the most constitutional laws in the case of an invasion: and when there was a French party in Ireland, we might do at one time, what we would not at another. He thought the bills necessary for the better security of the country against invasion and disturbance, and he voted for them, not for the purpose of extending the power of the Crown, but to save the country from ruin. He was sorry to have taken up so much of the time of the House; but he could not, from the reasons he had given, help saying he differed from his Right Hon. Friend. He then adverted to that part of the motion, which had for its immediate object, an enquiry into the state of Ireland; and in considering that subject, he would divide it into three heads, viz. Education, Agriculture, and Religion. With respect to the first part, *Education*, he thought plans might easily be adopted, which would answer the most beneficial purposes. There were in Ireland considerable funds appropriated for the advancement of the education of the people; but these funds had been grossly misapplied; so much so, that in one instance they amounted to upwards of £5000 a year, and only supported eighteen free scholars. Much enquiry had frequently taken place on this subject; and it had been found, that the masters had not done their duty, and also the funds had been greatly abused, and much misused. He had himself taken considerable pains on this subject, and he knew, that the present masters were most of them good men; there must therefore have been great mismanagement in those funds, having been expended without producing a greater number of free scholars than eighteen. He thought it would be better than



1807.

previous question was carried by 76 against 33. This debate closed the session.

to have the present number of schools, to submit to have two great schools, for the education of the highest orders; for when a little school was planted, it was soon paralyzed in its operation. By the law of Ireland, there should be a free school in every diocese; and there being 24 dioceses in the country, there ought to be 24 diocesan schools; and if those were added to two great public schools, he thought there would be sufficient for the education of the higher orders. By the law of Ireland, there must be a school in every parish, which amounted in number to 2,200 parishes; there were not, however, more than 400 schools, and those only educated 11,000 persons. If there were a school in every parish, he thought, that would be sufficient for the education of the common people, who were, in his opinion, a people of a literary turn of mind, and given to pursuits of that nature.

The second head, on which he should touch, was the agriculture of the country. He apologised to the House for introducing this subject, which he should not have done, had it not been under consideration of the House during the late administration. In this article, the great object would be the modification of tythes. There were two modes, he said, by which tythes might be modified; one was a mode, in which the farmers and owners of land paid so much for hay, so much for corn, &c. which was an idea recognized. Another method was commutation by land; but this had not been so much in practice. All the disturbances in Ireland, by the *White Boys*, the *Hearts of Steel*, the *Peep of Day Boys*, and the *Threshers*, had arisen from the oppression of tythes. If this bone of contention could once be removed, it would do more for the peace of the country, than could well be conceived. The House need not pledge itself to any measure; but he was sure they could not proceed too speedily; and there was no grievance, the removal of which would give such general satisfaction as that of tythes. The next objection, which he should touch, was religion; and on this head, we had no right to enquire further than as to the probability of its influencing the Roman Catholics to form alliances with our enemy, who are of the

On the 14th of August 1807, the parliament was prorogued by commission. And notwithstanding

1807.

Prorogation  
of Parlia-  
ment, and  
mean and  
malicious  
efforts to  
traduce  
the Catho-  
lics.

The question then to be considered was, Would the Catholics join the natural enemy? If they did not, if they fought against him, as they shared in your dangers, they should share in your rights. He had no doubt, but the great majority of the Catholics in Ireland would take up arms against the common enemy, and he was the more confident in this, from what had lately taken place. He then adverted to the address of the Protestant Grand Jury to the Catholics in the county of Kilkenny at the late assizes, in which the Jury congratulated the county, that there was not a single person to be tried for sedition or disturbance of the public peace. And the Catholics in their answer attributed the peaceable and tranquil state of the country to the harmony and unanimity subsisting between the Protestants and Catholics; and they pledge themselves to join the Protestants in preserving the peace of the country, and in uniting against the common enemy, and preventing the growth of French principles, and the evil of French domination. From such specimens of harmony, he hoped the best results; and, if the people of Ireland saw their situation in its true light, if they had strength of mind to bear their calamities with fortitude, the care and attention of Parliament could not fail to unite them in the strongest and closest bonds of union. It would not be necessary for them to look to Holland, to Genoa, or to Switzerland, to see the effects of French interference, which had entailed on them, in return of their ancient rights, a state of the basest slavery and the vilest oppression. They would rather look with gratitude to the era of 1779, when they recovered their trade, and to that of 1782, when they recovered their constitution; and impressed with those advantages, when they saw Parliament attentive and desirous to remove those disadvantages, under which they still labour, and which were presumed to be done away by the Union, he had no doubt, but they would all join with heart and hand to combat the common enemy; and we might then bid defiance to any power, that might attempt to attack our United Empire. He therefore fully approved that part of his Right Hon. Friend's mo-



1807.

so many important incidents had recently occurred, to which Ireland gave immediate rise, not a word in the whole speech could be tortured into a remote reference to that part of the United Kingdom. It was an unimpressive acknowledgment on behalf of the Sovereign of the attention of both houses to their arduous duties, gratitude for the supplies, and confidence in the unanimity of his people, by which his Majesty would be enabled to defeat all the attempts of his enemy. The remainder of the year passed over without any event striking or important to Ireland. The resulting consequence of the change of ministers, and the conduct of the new parliament, upon the population of Ireland, was conviction, that the ruling powers of the State never intended to admit them into an equal participation of the constitution with their fellow-subjects, that most of their best friends still thought them unworthy of it, and coldly gave them up to the further castigation of their old tormentors. Shut out of hope, their case was desperate. Little men, who could meditate nothing great, which was not mischievous or malicious, resorted to petty means of preventing immense evils. Private professions made at the Castle of personal esteem and respect for the ecclesiastical and lay heads of the Catholic body, were ineptly applied as a varnish to cover systematic and pledged resistance to the just claims, and the political necessity of

tion, which went to a consideration of the state of Ireland, but not of that, which alluded to and condemned the two bills lately passed.



1807.

granting them to five millions of his Majesty's loyal subjects. The stern and eternal negative put upon Catholic hope soon reached France, and furnished a courtly bishop (of Quimper) with a new motive drawn from the conduct of his enemy for reposing confidence in his invincible, great, and magnanimous Sovereign. In a pastoral instruction to his flock, published in the absence of the Emperor, that prelate made allusion \* to British intolerance

\* The passage in that pastoral address of the Bishop of Quimper to the clergy and faithful of his diocese, made on the occasion of the conscription for 1808, is as follows. "With what lively sentiments of love and gratitude will you learn, my beloved brethren, that far as he is separated from you, and in spite of the great events, which he prepares, and which occupy his thoughts, you are always present to his heart. He regrets his not having yet been able to visit these countries. "We regret not having yet visited them; but one of the first journeys, which we shall make after our return to our own states, shall be to see with our own eyes so interesting a part of our own people." Yes, you shall see my beloved brethren that immortal deliverer, who has freed you from the horrors of anarchy, and of civil discord, that instrument of Providence, who has re-opened our temples, and restored our altars. He shall hear the acclamations of your gratitude and of your love. They will prove to the eternal enemy of the glory and prosperity of France (England), that all her perfidious efforts and intrigues will never be able to alienate from him your religious and faithful hearts. For a moment she had seduced you; at that unhappy epoch, when anarchy ravaged this desolated land, and when its impious furies overturned your temples and profaned your altars. She only affected concern for the re-establishment of your holy religion, in order to rend and ravage our country. See the sufferings England inflicts upon Ireland, which is Catholic like you, and subject to her dominion. The three last ages present only the afflicting picture of a people robbed of all their religious and civil rights.

1807.

towards the Catholics of Ireland; upon which the government underlings engrafted a most base fabrication, for the double purpose of raising indignation against the enemy, and of throwing *odium* upon the body of the Irish Catholics. The government prints gave out, that a very important document pregnant with danger to this country, signed by Napoleon and Talleyrand, had fallen into the hands of his Majesty's ministers, together, with a document of still more importance to the Catholic cause in Ireland, asserted to have been solemnly issued from the Vatican. It was falsely asserted, that the Pope had lately issued a bull, addressed to the titular bishops of Ireland, exhorting them in the most forcible terms to excite in the minds of all people of the Roman Catholic persuasion under their influence and direction, an ardent devotion to the views and objects of Bonaparte, and an expectation, that by his assistance and protection they might eventually obtain an uncontrouled ex-

In vain the most enlightened men of that nation have protested against the tyrannical oppression. A new prosecution has ravished from them even the hope of seeing an end to their calamities. An inflamed and misled (the English) people, dares applaud such injustice. It insults with sectarian fanaticism the Catholic religion, and its venerable chief; and it is that government, which knows not how to be just towards its own subjects, and dares to calumniate this, which has given us security and honor. Whilst the Irish Catholics groan beneath laws so oppressive, our august Emperor does not confine himself to the protection and establishment of that religion in his own states. He demanded in his treaty with Saxony, that it should there enjoy the same liberty as other modes of worship."

1807.

ercise of their rights, religious and political. It was also stated, that this address from the Roman Pontiff, was accompanied by another paper containing a solemn declaration on the part of the French ruler, that it was his firm determination to give the Roman Catholic religion the ascendancy in Ireland. A visit in the month of September from Dr. Moylan, (the titular Bishop of Cork, and a most respectable Prelate) to the Duke of Portland at Bulstrode, was variously represented in Ireland. By some he was represented as having officially assured the Duke of Portland of the sympathetic readiness of the Catholic body to acquiesce in the suspension of their claims, as long as his Majesty's ministers should desire: and to place the interests of the body under their tutelary protection. By others, he was believed to have procured access to his Grace for the mere purpose of doing away the injurious effects of the impression made upon the public by the circulation of the fabricated bull of his Holiness, and to explain how the fiction had been maliciously worked out of the French Bishop's ordinance, to which the Irish Catholics were not privy, and which they could not controul. It is a lamentable truth, that so systematically adverse have his Majesty's ministers lately been to the interests of the Catholic body, that a Catholic of any degree of consequence could not be brought into contact with a servant of government from the Lord Lieutenant to a fifth Secretary, without falling under general suspicion of having become an active or passive instrument in betray-



1807.

ing them. Were it credible, that Napoleon should have descended to avail himself of his influence upon the Primate of Christendom, in order to induce him to lend out his spiritual supremacy, as an engine of preponderancy in the temporal contests of Christian Princes, it shews how he dreaded the fidelity and loyalty of his Majesty's Irish subjects, and demonstrates, that the Irish Catholic prelacy and their clergy yield not to the laity, but rather lead in their attachment to the constitution of their country.

Inconsistency of the Irish government.

Ministers, like other men, are often more astute in devising apologies and grounds for justifying what experience proves to have been an improvident or mischievous measure, than they were diligent in preparing reasons for supporting what they carried by dint of power and numbers. They disdainfully rejected every idea of investigation into the state of Ireland before the acts were passed, and they were now clamorous, that Ireland was so tumultuary, that without the powerful aid of these strong remedies her turbulence was incurable. A French party had been whispered into existence, and Ireland was put more effectually under the ban of disaffection by Mr. Grattan's assent to the nod of the whisperer, than if each of her 32 counties had been specially proclaimed by the Lord Lieutenant, and the proclamation had been countersigned by every member of his privy council. Tipperary, Limerick, and the whole west and the contiguous and other parts of Ireland, were represented by the agents of the Castle in full preparation to receive

the enemy, and to brave the laws and powers of the country. Yet whilst parliament was sitting, not a tittle of evidence had been offered to impeach her loyalty or question her tranquillity. Many county meetings were holden throughout the country: and most of them for the laudable purpose of tranquillizing the people, and convincing the peasantry, that although the landed interest had not then succeeded in procuring them legislative redress, they sympathized with their tenants, and would never relax in their efforts to attain it. The noblemen and gentlemen of the county of Roscommon published a string of resolutions of a most violent and inflammatory nature, to *preserve* the tranquillity of the county. The avowed object of *preserving* proved, that they then actually enjoyed tranquillity. A blessing they appeared anxious to put to hazard, by circulating amongst the peasantry the abstract of the coercive bills, and offering public rewards, and the prospects of subsistence and protection from government to anonymous informers. An abandoned violation of a leading principle of the criminal law of the land, that every prisoner, shall in every case be confronted with his accuser. The magistrates of Limerick entered into strong resolutions to enforce the Arms and Insurrection Acts. The magistrates of the more disturbed parts of Tipperary met at Clonmel, in order to take into consideration the disturbed parts of the county under the Insurrection Act. The Grand Juries of Galway and Kilkenny came to and published strong declarations

1807.

in favor of Catholic emancipation. Several counties, Tipperary, Kerry, Longford, &c. convened and came to resolutions to petition parliament for the abolition or melioration of the system of tithes.

Origin of  
Shanavests  
and Caravats.

Although frequent mention has been made of disturbances in the county of Tipperary, and Mr. Justice Fox at the Spring assizes of 1807, had congratulated the county upon its tranquillity: and Mr. Ponsonby declared in open Parliament, that after the strictest enquiry, he could discover no symptoms of insurgency in the whole county; this was certainly the time, about which the *Shanavests* and *Caravats* began to form themselves into separate bodies: but they had not then committed any of those outrages, which have been since repressed by the arm of the law. It has never appeared, that either of these denominations of disturbers of the peace of their neighbourhood had any specific local object, which was a matter of contest between the adverse parties\*: much less had

\* The original denominations of these adverse parties was proved on oath at the special commission before Lord Norbury and the Chief Baron O'Grady at Clonmell on the 6th of February 1811, on the trial of *John Corcoran* and three other *Caravats* for firing a loaded gun at James Slattery, a *Shanavest* on the 6th of November 1810, with an intention to kill him, &c. and also for unlawfully assuming the name of *Caravat*, and appearing in arms by night. On the cross examination of James Slattery, by Mr. McNally, the following evidence came out: Vide report of these trials, taken in short hand by Randall Kernan, Esq. Barrister at law, p. 31.—Q. What's the English of the word *Shanavest*. A. I can't tell. Q. You know it perfectly well.



they any political views in associating; and least of all had they a particle of ingredient in their con- 1803.

Is it not the name of a party in this country? A. It is.

Q. Now of the twenty of your party, were there not 18 or 19 of them *Shanavests*? A. We were.

Q. You have made yourself a *Shanavest*, without any one asking you the question.

When you said *de boys*, didn't you mean the rioters? A. No.

Chief Baron. Q. What was the other party called? A. *Caravats*.

Q. Has there not been a wicked and malicious enmity subsisting between those, who call themselves *Shanavests* and

*Caravats*. A. They are often quarrelling. Q. Didn't you and

*de boys* expect a quarrel? A. No. Q. By virtue of your oath,

don't you believe, that some of the 19 *Shanavests* had arms. A. I

believe they had not. Q. Have you not heard, that they assem-

bled with arms on another day? A. By G. I don't know. Q. By

the Chief Baron. Don't you believe the *Shanavests* took arms

by night? I believe they did. Q. And the *Caravats*? A. I

believe they did. Q. By virtue of your oath, has there not been

a quarrel between the *Shanavests* and *Caravats*? A. There was.

Chief Baron. What was the cause of quarrel between these two

parties, the *Shanavests* and *Caravats*? A. I don't know. Q.

What's the true reason? A. Indeed I can't tell. Q. So then

according to your account I am to understand, that each party

attacks the other by way of defence? Q. By a Juror. Were

the men, who were concerned in the affray in the month of Au-

gust the same, that were concerned at the races of Coolmoyne?

A. They were. Q. Do you know a man of the name of Pau-

deen Gar? A. I do. Q. He is your uncle? Was not he the

principal ringleader and commander of the army of *Shanavests*?

A. He is a poor old man, and not able to take command. Q. By

Lord Norbury. What was the first cause of quarrel? A. It

was the same foolish dispute made about May balls. Q. By the

Chief Baron. Which is the oldest party? A. The *Caravats*

were going on for two years before the *Shanavests* stirred. Q.

Why were they called *Caravats*? A. A man of the name of

Hanly was hanged. He was prosecuted by the *Shanavests*, and

Paudeen Gar said, he would not leave the place of execution,

1808.

federacy or combination, which could be tortured into the meaning of a *French party*. Both parties

till he saw the Caravat about the fellow's neck, and from that time they were called *Caravats*. Q. For what offence was Hanly hanged? A. For burning the house of a man, who had taken land over his neighbour's head. Q. Hanly was the leader of the *Caravats*? A. Before he was hanged, his party was called the *Moyle Rangers*. The *Shanavests* were called *Paudeen Gar's party*. Q. Why were they called *Shanavests*? A. Because they wore old waistcoats. Nicholas Saxton, examined by Mr. Prendergast. This witness corroborated the evidence of James Slattery. His evidence was exactly similar to that given by the former witness; he gave precisely the same history of the first origin of the party of *Caravats* and *Shanavests*; and proved, that all those connected in their illegal associations, had no other object in taking up arms, than to defend themselves against the attacks of each other.

The Rev. John Ryan, Parish Priest of Feathard, was examined as a witness for the prisoner, and upon being cross examined by the Solicitor General, he said, that at the fair, he saw some of the *Shanavests* strike the *Caravats*. Q. By the Chief Baron. Is it notorious in the parish, who are *Shanavests*, and who are *Caravats*? A. It is. Q. From a gentleman of your appearance and manners, I should wish to be informed, what is the real cause of quarrel? A. I never could find out the real cause. Q. By Lord Norbury. Do the feuds of those insurgents prevent their attending divine service? A. No, my Lord, both *Shanavests* and *Caravats* attend divine service indiscriminately. Lord Norbury. I wish, Sir, you could restore peace and comfort to your flock. If they would take your advice, we should have no occasion of visiting your county at this inclement season of the year. Solicitor General resumed. Q. Do you consider those feuds, as they are called, confined to the lower orders? A. I think they are. I am not sure, whether any respectable parishioner has joined them. Q. Can you form any opinion whether one party is more criminal than the other? A. I can; not, they are equally criminal; but the taking of arms is confined exclusively to the two parties concerned in those feuds.

seemed to be indiscriminately sore at the payment of tithes ; both complained of the exorbitancy of the advanced demands of rack rents for lands out of lease. Both manifested symptoms of a natural and interested attachment to the soil they had occupied, by their undisguised hostility to every competitor, for the farms of the old occupiers. They had not then begun (as they were afterwards charged) to fix a general rate of tithe and rent, and to enforce the observance of it by threats of visiting those, who should dare to exceed it. They assumed no appellation expressive of or appropriate to any of those objects, which they have since pursued to the disgrace and disturbance of the country. When the Insurrection and Arms Bills passed into laws, it is no less true, than singular, that in all the counties, then said to be disturbed, not a single charge was to be found on the calendar of sedition or insurgency at the preceding assizes. Widely as the Threshers had extended their outrages, they had been completely put down and tranquillized by the arm of the common law, without recourse to the violent measure of suspending the constitution. The objects of their outrages had been ascertained by the Judges, who had gone into the disturbed parts on the late special commission : and not even a spurious whisper had reached their ears, that there was amongst them any thing describable by an *existing French party*. This has been recently confirmed by very high authority.

In Mr. Bushe's (the Solicitor General) opening address to the first Jury, that sat at Clonmell on

1807.  
Mr. Bushe's  
speech at  
the Special  
Commission



1808.

the late special commission in February 1811, to try the *Shanavests* and *Caravats*, he thus explicitly spoke of the *Threshers*, and some other disturbers of a part of the county of Limerick. " I can speak from much experience upon this subject ; my learned friend, Serjeant Moore, now at my side, whose services to the public upon such occasions can never be over valued, has witnessed with me memorable instances, in which a faithful and vigorous execution of those laws has been attended with the fullest success. He remembers when the entire province of Connaught, with the exception of one county, and when two counties in the north-west circuit were overrun by the insurgents, called *Threshers* ; upon that occasion the disturbance was so violent and general, that the King's Judges, upon a special commission, could only move through the country under the escort of a troop of dragoons. The meetings of the people had been so frequent, numerous, and audacious, even in the open day, and the outrages so many, that it was doubted, for a time, in the town of Castlebar, whether the execution of six convicts could with safety take place pending the commission. Yet in the short space of less than a month, that commission visited five counties, and by the firm administration of the laws, supported by the co-operation of the magistracy and gentry, such was the triumph of justice, that the insurrection dissolved before its influence, and from that period (the year 1806), until this hour, so perfect has been the tranquillity then established, that the

Crown Solicitors for those counties have never had one case of public disturbance to prosecute. We remember the more recent instance of the western part of the county of Limerick, which stretches along the Shannon, and the entire of the county of Kerry, having been convulsed by similar outrages, almost to insurrection, yet those laws, supposed now to be ineffectual here, were executed there, under the auspices of one of the learned Judges now presiding, and with such success, that those districts have ever since (a period of more than two years) enjoyed perfect tranquillity; and if a small portion of Limerick remains at this moment partially disturbed, I am sorry to be obliged to state, that it is that eastern limit, which owes its unwholesome state to the infectious vicinity of this unfortunate and incorrigible county."

As the session of parliament approached, the public was inundated with reports of schisms in the ministry, divisions in the cabinet, and want of confidence on the part of the Sovereign in his servants. It was alarmed by a hint of a mysterious communication from Windsor, which had a direct tendency to shew, that the Sovereign was unfit to reign. It was generally credited, that the schism in the cabinet, had been occasioned by a difference of opinion upon the old subject so intimately connected with the stability of the throne and the strength of the country, upon which the Duke of Portland, Mr. Canning, and Lord Castlereagh were in direct and decided opposition to Lord Hawkesbury and Mr. Perceval. That Mr. Can-

1807.

Differences  
in the Cab-  
inet.

1808.

ning, upon carrying a representation to the foot of the throne, was informed, that the same conscientious scruples, which had been before manifested, still existed with undiminished force, and that the result of the suggestions made upon this delicate but interesting subject, was a communication to Mr. Perceval, that a noble Lord, who formerly presided over the King's councils (Lord Sidmouth), still possessed the Royal confidence, and would be applied to, should a change in the administration be found necessary. The dissentients however agreed amongst themselves, that to sacrifice their places to any thing like principle would demean them, as imitators of their predecessors. The Duke of Portland threw off his flannels, Lord Castlereagh arose a sound man from the bed of sickness, Mr. Canning disgorged his qualms; all fell into their ranks, and the old drill continued in spite of individual discord. The Lord Lieutenant closed the year with a visitation to the North of Ireland. His unreserved manners, and convivial freedom, gained him credit and applause among the Northerners.

Prepara-  
tions for  
opening  
parliament.

The year 1808 was ushered in by the ministerial cry of *No Popery*, and the *Church in Danger*. By that mischievous warhoop did their agents with some difficulty keep alive the dying embers of British intolerance, and fiercely quicken the unextinguished flame of Irish bigotry. The cabinet differences had for the moment subsided. By the ascent of Earl Grey to the House of Lords on his father's death, a new leader of the Opposition was



1808.  


to be chosen: and after some meetings of the party, Mr. George Ponsonby was called upon to fill that vacancy. Preparations for the opening of the parliamentary campaign were made by the Catholic body in Ireland. They met in great strength on the 19th of January, and Lord Fingal having taken the chair as president, Count Dalton proposed a general resolution, which went to express the anxiety of the Catholic body to petition Parliament for the repeal of the remaining penal laws, with which they were still aggrieved: and that the present juncture was the critical one, in which such petition ought without delay to be transmitted, as a measure most conducive to their honor and to the present and future welfare of the Empire. He was seconded by Mr. John Byrne of Mullinahack. Mr. O'Connor of Ballinagare proposed; and Mr. Clinch seconded a motion for adjournment. The debates were warm, and tended to divide the body upon internal points of difference, which however affected not the public. The meeting was preserved in unanimity by the power of Mr. O'Connell's eloquence. Mr. O'Connor withdrew his motion, and Count Dalton's resolutions were passed without a dissentient voice\*.

\* The following Resolutions and Letter were circulated throughout the country:

“ At a numerous and highly respectable Meeting of Catholics, held in Dublin, at the Exhibition-Room, William-street, on the 19th of January, 1808.

“ THE EARL OF FINGAL IN THE CHAIR.

“ Resolved, that we are anxious to procure, by all constitutional means, the repeal of the Penal Laws which particularly

1808.  
Opening of  
Parliament,  
and Mr.  
Sheridan's  
Speech.

The parliament was opened by commission on the 21st of January, and the speech of his Majesty studiously avoided the most indirect reference to Ireland. In the debates upon the motion for an

affect our Body ; we deem it right to Petition Parliament for that purpose ; and in doing so, we conceive, that we not only discharge a duty imposed on us by our honor and interests, and those of our posterity, but consult the present and future welfare and safety of the Empire.

“ Resolved, that the Petition already committed to the Earl of Fingal be now read.

“ Resolved, that the Petition now read be adopted by this Meeting.

“ Resolved, that the care of having such Petition presented to Parliament be committed to the Earl of Fingal, so that the Petition may be presented on the earliest possible period of the ensuing session.

“ Resolved, That the Thanks of the Catholic Body are justly due, and are hereby returned to Edward Hay, Esq. for the activity, zeal, integrity and ability, which he has uniformly evinced in support of the Catholic Cause, and for his extremely proper and correct conduct in the discharge of his arduous and difficult duty as Secretary to the Catholics of Ireland.

THE VISCOUNT GORMANSTOWN IN THE CHAIR.

“ Resolved, That the Thanks of the Meeting be returned to the Earl of Fingal for his very proper and dignified conduct in the Chair.

EDWARD HAY, SEC.

SIR,

“ In consequence of the above resolutions, you are requested to procure signatures for the Catholic Petition, and to transmit them as expeditiously as possible, unless the Catholics in your vicinity have determined on a separate Petition.

I have the honor to be,

Your most obedient servant,

EDWARD HAY.

Dublin, 4 Capel-street, Jan. 25, 1808.

1808.

address made in the Commons by Lord Hamilton (son to the Marquis of Abercorn), Mr. George Ponsonby observed, that his Majesty's speech contained such a variety of topics, that it was difficult to express an opinion upon it. None even in the debates, which were long and interested, touched upon Ireland, but Mr. Sheridan and General Matthew. The former spoke to the following effect. "There was only one point, to which he would call the attention of the House, and that was to express his determination of renewing his notice, with respect to an enquiry into the state of Ireland, and to repeal the two unconstitutional acts passed against that country during the last session. He reluctantly differed from some friends near him, who wished to give the ministry some further time with respect to the state of Ireland. From his knowledge of their views, habits, and inveterate prejudices against that country, he would scarcely give them credit for one week upon the subject. Where during the recess had they evinced any desire or feeling for the improvement and pacification of Ireland? Pacification he would call it, because while those foul and despotic acts were continued on the statute book, Ireland must be considered in a state of insurrection. Was the disposition to ameliorate Ireland to be found in their reports and regulations to build glebe houses, and encrease the number of Protestant charter schools? Measures directly tending to aggravate the evil." "Upon Ireland, said he, I will keep my pledge. In the last session I was told not to demand a



1808.

pledge, but to trust to ministers during the recess. Have I any inducement to confide in them farther, when even they have not condescended to mention it in the speech of his Majesty, as if it were a subject beneath their high and proud notions of vigorous policy? Shall I protract that salutary line of conduct, who look, in the present state of the world, upon Europe as nothing, upon Ireland as every thing. It has been said, that in rhetoric, action was the first and second consideration; so I say; Ireland is the first, Ireland is the second, Ireland is now the only consideration; convinced as I and every other man in the country are, that its loss will and must entail irretrievable perdition upon the whole of this United Kingdom." The Hon. Colonel Montague Matthew expressed in a strong manner his mistrust of a set of ministers, that had come into office with an avowed hostility against five millions of his Majesty's subjects in Ireland, and said, that he hoped in God he should not see them in their situations that day six months.

Quarter Assembly  
against Catholic  
Petition.

On the day after parliament had met, the Anti-Catholic party in Dublin came prominently forward to oppose the Catholic petition for redress. At the Quarter Assembly of the Corporation of Dublin, after much common business had been gone through, Mr. Giffard said, he had seen upon the notices of that day's proceedings, one which announced an intention of petitioning parliament in opposition to the claims of the Roman Catholics of Ireland. With respect to his fellow-sub-

1808.

jects of that profession his feeling was, freely to participate with them every exercise of the constitution, which was not incompatible with the Protestant establishment in Church and State. He quarrelled with no man for his religious opinions; but, so far as his religious opinions arrayed themselves in hostility to the State, so far he felt himself bound to oppose him. What the Roman Catholics of Ireland had received during the present reign should have produced gratitude; but, on the contrary, every concession had created clamour; and it was but within the last very few days, that the room, in which he was then speaking, had resounded with their declarations and denunciations against the legislature, by which they had been so highly favoured. As long as it was incontrovertible, that the head of the Roman Catholic Church was so entirely a slave to the chief enemy of British prosperity and the British name, as to prostitute his character to the anointing the blood-spotted murderer of his Sovereign on the throne of the Bourbons, as long as that humiliated Pontiff continued to nominate at his pleasure the Roman Catholic hierarchy of Ireland, and that hierarchy commanded the priesthood, which wielded as it pleased the Roman Catholic populace of Ireland, so long should he conceive it ruinous to the constitution in Church and State, to trust power into the hands of the slaves of a foreign tyranny. He thought the legislature upon this subject had begun at the wrong end; if, instead of bestowing, as it had done, upon the blind mass of the people,

1808.

the elective franchise, which their total disregard of oaths had rendered almost universal, (particularly in the city of Dublin, which in consequence could boast of but one representative). If the legislature had admitted into its body the few Roman Catholic Peers, and the still fewer Roman Catholic gentlemen, who could have offered themselves. If they could have done this consistently with the safety of the constitution, the mischief might have been infinitely less, and the objection by many degrees weakened; but where the one had been granted, the danger of granting the other had become incalculable. Mr. Giffard then moved to send a message to the Board of Aldermen, requiring their answer to a petition lodged for that purpose. Mr. Cope seconded the motion. Mr. Farrell said, that the person, who could agitate such a question at that moment, must be an enemy to his King; and he moved, that the question should be adjourned for twelve months. He was seconded by Mr. Hutton. And upon a ballot, Mr. Farrell's motion was lost: Ayes 19—Noes 50—Majority 31. The petition was then put and carried without a division. And it was resolved, that it should be presented to each house of Parliament; to the house of peers by the Royal freeman of Dublin, his Highness the Duke of Cumberland; to the commons, by the representative of Dublin, Mr. Shaw\*.

\* Within three days from that time Mr. Sheridan, still mindful of his country, gave notice of his intentions of submitting to this House, on Monday sen'night, a motion for the appointment



In the mean time, the petition, which had been so much debated, and at last adopted, as the petition of the Catholics of Ireland, was advertised in the Irish papers, as lying at Mr. Fitzpatrick's, bookseller in Dublin, for signatures. When a sufficient number had been procured, it was entrusted to the sole custody and discretion of Lord Fingal, which shewed the general confidence of the body in his Lordship's honor, integrity, and zeal for the common cause. On his arrival in London, he adopted a similar mode of proceeding, as the Catholic delegates had in 1805. He tendered it to the Duke of Portland, who standing pledged to oppose it, as Mr. Pitt was in 1805, instantly declined any interference with it. Lord Fingal then applied to Lord Grenville and Mr. Grattan, who readily undertook to present the petition to their respective houses; expressing at the same their resolution to back it with all their powers, and their conviction of its rejection. Lord Fingal's instruc-

1808.

Catholic Petition entrusted to Lord Fingal.

of a Committee to enquire into the nature and grounds of the existing grievances in Ireland. In giving that notice, it might not be unnecessary to observe, that it was not his object, that any disqualifications or civil embarrassments as affecting individuals and arising out of the existing laws should come within the cognizance of the Committee, such as the great question of Catholic Emancipation, and the policy of abolishing all similar restrictions, which of their own nature are fit topics for discussion in this place, and should not be abandoned to any inferior tribunal. But the grievances of a more local nature, less prominent, though perhaps not less important, and certainly not less oppressive, were such as in themselves demanded peculiar investigation; and it was to such he would direct the attention of the proposed Committee.

1808.

tions to have it presented at all events were peremptory and imperative. His Lordship entered into a negociation with these gentlemen, and also with Mr. George Ponsonby, as the leader of the opposition, and an avowed friend to the question, upon the delicate and important subject of admitting the crown to the exercise of some species of influence in the nomination or appointment of the Irish Catholic prelacy. Hence sprung up the very serious and much contested question of the royal *Veto*; of which more will be said hereafter. With whomsoever the idea of such royal interference originated, by whomsoever the assent of the Catholic body, that it should be proposed in Parliament, as a condition of concession were suggested, and under whatever authority, the leading supporters of the Petition vouched for the Catholics approval of the condition, it is to be presumed, that the views and motives of all parties, were to facilitate the attainment of the prayer of the Petition. It was presented by Lord Grenville to the House of Lords, and received without any observation; except from Lord Moira, who expressed some disapprobation of the time of presentation, although his opinion of the rectitude and policy of the principle remained unaltered. When it was presented by Mr. Grattan to the House of Commons, Messrs. Perceval and Canning took exception to an informality on the face of it; some of the signatures appeared to be in one hand-writing: application was made to the Chair and the objection was declared fatal. Offers were made to prove upon oath

that many of the signatures were the genuine hand writing of the subscribers, which it was hoped would suffice to put the House in possession of the Catholic mind in Ireland upon the subject before them. It was not permitted; the petition was withdrawn and remitted to Ireland to be signed anew.\* This preliminary quibbling, merely to cause delay and difficulty, indicated a narrow bigotry, little suited to the dignity of his Majesty's select advisers, leading the great council of the nation.

1808.

The fatal instructions given to the Richmond administration to continue the old system, and their ready and strict compliance with them, were strikingly manifested by their conduct in cushioning the memorial of Mr. Todd Jones, who is a living martyr to the iniquity and horrors of that system. The contents of it are an interesting and highly illustrative document of the persevering spirit of vengeance against that honourable character, whose sole crime was having been the first,

Memorial  
and neglect  
of Mr. Todd  
Jones.

\* Upon the return of the Petition the following circular was sent from the Secretary of the Catholics of Ireland :

" SIR,

" As the Catholic petition was not received in the House of Commons, on account of several signatures affixed to it not being original, you are requested as speedily as possible to procure and transmit to me the signatures in the actual hand-writing of the petitioners—as Lord Fingal is to return to England with the petition on the fifth of May."

" I have the honor to be,

" Your most obedient Servant,

" EDWARD HAY.

" Dublin, No. 4, Capel-street.

" 26th April, 1808."



1808.

who proposed Catholic emancipation in the Irish legislature. The memorial remains unnoticed to this hour. The original was inclosed and delivered to Sir Arthur Wellesley, Chief Secretary to his Grace the Duke of Richmond; Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, with the following letter:

SIR,

*I AM to intreat his Grace the Lord Lieutenant's humanity in transmitting to his Majesty the enclosed Memorial; in whatever manner his Grace will condescend to adopt as most respectful to reach his Majesty's paternal hands.*

*I have the honor to be, Sir,*

*with great respect,*

*your most obedient Servant,*

**WILLIAM TODD JONES.**

City of Cork, March 9th, 1808.

*To Sir Arthur Wellesley, &c. &c.*

*Dublin Castle.*

“ TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT  
“ MAJESTY :

“ MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

“ IT is with the deepest reluctance that the singular misery of my case induces the most respectful of your Majesty's subjects, to intrude upon your Majesty's attention; in doing which I shall adhere to the strictest briefness of which my unhappy detail admits. The features of my unfortunate situation render my case as peculiar, and insulated, as it is deplorable, and I stand alone, and

1808.

apart in my oppression, from every other imprisoned man in your Majesty's United Kingdom.

“ I was born a gentleman, educated a barrister, and had sat for many years a member of your Majesty's Parliament of Ireland, not dishonourably, I trust, to myself, nor injuriously to my country. I had been absent from Ireland for *ten* years, from the year 1792, during the whole of which period, I was, uninterruptedly a resident of England, and in May, 1802, I was indispeusibly *compelled* to return to Dublin, by an affair of honor,\* the particulars, and consequences of which, however too delicate for me to detail, may have been, to a then furious party, *the principal cause* of my subsequent persecution, and arrest. Amusing myself from that period, *a period of profound peace*, till July, 1803, in the province of Munster, a very large portion of my native country, which I had never beheld, and had long entertained an inclination to see, I was upon the said date, 29th July, 1803, arrested in my bed, by night, near Cork, without being then, or ever after, shewn any warrant, or authority of committal, by a body of armed soldiery, and after being *exhibited for two days*, in an apparently studied triumph, *during a distance of only twenty miles*, I was lodged a close prisoner

\* Sir Richard Musgrave having in his History of Ireland, exceeded the customary bounds of literary decorum, in certain passages and expressions, regarding Mr. Jones, then absent in England, afterwards very honorably altered or omitted these passages, in a subsequent edition.

1805.

in a military prevot goal, in the city of Cork : was delivered into the custody of an army sergeant, and by a written order from General Myers, commander of the district, was formally made subject to martial law !

“ May it please your Majesty, this prison was a *damp, new, unfinished* edifice, utterly unsuited to the health and safety of any individual, much less to a prisoner of my advanced age, but former active habits ; and in an especial manner it was so, during the two winters, and commencement of a third, in which I was immured in it ; the ceiling, walls, and floor of my apartment and of the whole edifice, were most frequently flooded by unavoidable damps, and profuse condensed vapour, which induced a rheumatic complaint in my left arm of the worst symptoms, which terminated in a paralytic affection ; and which arm has since continued to decline, and now is considerably withered and useless. For the establishment of these statements, your Majesty’s humble memorialist refers to Mr. Jeremiah Murphy, chief gaoler, to the Rev. Thomas Archer, inspector general of prisons, to the Rev. Alexander Kennedy, chaplain, to Mr. Edmund Shannahan, head architect of said gaol, and to Doctor Francis Walsh of Cork, memorialist’s physician.

“ Within this military prison I continued confined from the said date of the 23d July, 1803, until the latter end of October, 1805, when I was *unconditionally discharged* by the High Sheriff of the county of Cork, in the most honorable man-



*untried, unbailed, unexamined, undressed!* after having, at the age of fifty-two years, suffered the protracted torment of a military gaol, for *two years and three months*, with all its numerous, debilitating train of very often *total solitude, subjection to military keepers, and their subalterns, private soldiers*, and the incalculable *mental anxieties*, and *indignities* incident to, and necessarily interwoven with the thralldom of a military prevot.

1808.

“ May it please your Majesty, at this period *chosen* by the Earl of Hardwicke, for my plenary and unconditional discharge, *the date for the expiration of the act, for suspending the Habeas Corpus, and the date for the expiration of martial law had arrived within a few days*. I therefore, may it please your Majesty, conclude that the *motive* of the Earl of Hardwicke, for choosing this very protracted period of imprisonment to discharge me, was a dread of *the issue of a trial-by jury*, and that his Lordship shrunk from meeting me there, armed with the *Habeas Corpus* and the Bill of Rights, as provided by the constitution for the protection of the subject against the strides of despotism.

“ Thus, may it please your Majesty, I was deprived of my liberty, my reputation, my pecuniary credit, and my health, *unimpeached by any specific charge*, and even then lying in gaol, *declared innocent* by the Earl of Hardwicke himself: For, may it please your Majesty, I received from the Right Hon. William Wickham, principal secretary to his Excellency, *very speedily* after my imprisonment,

1803.

*an offer of immediate liberation from this oppression; which proposal was made to me in the following letter from William Saurin, Esq. your Majesty's present Attorney General of Ireland; which letter was enclosed to me in the prison, in a cover franked by Mr. Wickham:*

*“Dublin, Oct. 10th, 1803.*

*“My dear Jones,*

*“You will no doubt believe, that it was not without much concern, that I heard of your unpleasant situation: convinced I was in my own mind, that your Principles and feelings made it impossible you should have ever been seduced to countenance a wild, and wicked conspiracy, or even to be reconciled to the principles and manners of a republican system, to which your disposition is averse. In the enquiries, which I have made, and the representations, which I did not fail to make of your character and disposition, I hope, and believe, that such is the light, in which you are considered; and I have reason to hope, that if your present situation be irksome and disagreeable, and that you will authorise me to pledge your word to go back to England, and not to come to this country at the present time, that it would be accomplished, I do not mean, that there should be any public composition or engagement, or any thing, that can look like any sense of wrong on your part: but only such a private understanding between you and me, as government can rely on.*

*“I am, &c. &c. &c.*

*“WILLIAM SAURIN.”*

1808.

“ May it please your Majesty, this letter from Mr. Saurin, *whose word is truth itself*, was directed and franked to me by Mr. Wickham, and was delivered to me by the gaoler, and another letter to the gaoler himself, also franked by Mr. Wickham, which letter I possess, and which contains in Mr. Wickham's hand writing, the following words, “ *Mr. Wickham desires, that the inclosed may be delivered to Mr. Todd Jones.*” The inclosed was Mr. Saurin's letter ; I therefore, may it please your Majesty, conclude, that the contents of Mr. Saurin's letter *was the act of the government of Ireland.*

“ But, may it please your Majesty, and I trust that my determination will appear dignified, and justifiable, this insidious proposition, under the mask of lenity, of skulking from an Irish military prevot into any other country, or my adoption of any other step of conduct, which might bear any implication of a consciousness of guilt, *I instantly, respectfully declined* : I stood upon my private personal character, and on my confidence in the still existing, though suspended efficacy of the constitution, for obtaining a legal trial, and an ample, though perhaps a protracted *redress* !

“ May it please your Majesty, my adversaries have been secret, malignant, *and successful* in my oppression, on account of the interest I have taken from my earliest life in the relaxation of the unnatural penal code of Ireland ; and which adversaries found channels to convey to the Castle of Dublin a tainted impression of my principles ; yet



1808.

without being finally able, and without attempting to substantiate *one single slander* : For, may it please your Majesty, in a late civil action, which I tried by record, at the last general assizes of the county of Kerry, for *detraction and a libel*, published against me in a newspaper of the city of Cork, which newspaper is generally considered, and understood to be, the castle of Dublin government paper of this city, while I lay helpless in a prevot prison, and which libel accused me of disaffection to the state, I obtained from a special jury, all Protestant gentlemen, and of the first respectability in that county, a verdict of damages, after four minutes deliberation, for the sum of two thousand two hundred and fifty pounds, with costs ; which sums united, amounted to the sum of two thousand nine hundred and twenty-five pounds, which sum has been paid ; during the progress of trying which record, not one evidence was offered, or produced on the part of the defendant, though such testimony was repeatedly demanded in the court, in support of any such asserted disaffection in me, although, *strong reasons* appeared to the Court for believing, that the defendant, the collector of the port of Cork, and sole proprietor of this newspaper, *had had access to the papers of the Privy Council* ; for my original letters addressed to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant's secretary, were avowed to be in Court in the hands of the defendant's counsel, for the purpose of identifying my hand-writing, but which hand writing I promptly identified, myself.

1807.

“ May it please your Majesty, in the charge upon this trial delivered to the Jury by the learned judge, Baron Fletcher, his Lordship took occasion to express himself thus, “ That he could not entertain the disrespectful idea, in viewing the whole process of Mr. Jones’s arrest and confinement, *that any government of Ireland* could have known of; or countenanced such an imprisonment; but that he took it for granted that Mr. Jones had been arrested under the very unhappy ferment of the hour at Dublin, at the vulgar instance of some secretary’s secretary’s secretary, some understrapper’s understrapper’s understrapper, who in a drunken paroxysm of party or personal spleen, had signed an order for Mr. Jones’s committal, which, when sober, he forgot having done, and never afterwards recollected, till Mr. Jones’s printed letter to Mr. Wickham, entreating for a trial, refreshed his memory, and informed him where he lay.”

“ May it please your Majesty, the fountain of justice to your Majesty’s subjects, the head of our established form of government, and of our system of laws and customs, I most dutifully, and deeply respectfully ventured to hazard, that it remains with the Earl of Hardwicke to account for the violated constitution of the empire in my person, why he arrested me, why he courted me to accept of liberation, instead of bringing my guilt to condign punishment, why, upon my indignant, but respectful refusal, he continued to imprison me near three years, and why, finally, he discharg-

1808.

ed me at all? But, may it please your Majesty, I was not that inexperienced man to be taken in the springe of this proffered, secret, and ignominious escape from a military prevot, to facilitate his Excellency's perhaps future escape from merited Parliamentary investigation; I subdued my indignation as a gentleman of my station in Ireland, thus wantonly harrassed, I stood my prison ground, I resigned myself to my cell, I faced, and I courted *the laws*. For, may it please your Majesty, I repeatedly supplicated the Earl of Hardwicke for a *trial*: I repeatedly supplicated, that I should be brought to the *bar of Parliament*, or before the *Privy Council*, where an oath should be administered to me, that I should answer all questions whatever, without reservation; but all which supplications the Earl of Hardwicke uniformly refused; and may it please your Majesty, I am *now* most willing still to abide by that tender, of standing a trial, or to pass that ordeal of an oath before Parliament, or the Privy Council, and *meet the examination*.

“ I therefore, Most Gracious Sovereign, very dutifully, and with humble, but ardent hope, supplicate to lay my heavy calamity before your Majesty, and to implore such paternal relief from your Majesty, as may seem to your Majesty adequate to my bodily and mental sufferings, to my station in life, and to my age, now upwards of fifty-two years.

“ *City of Cork, Ireland,*

“ *March, 9th, 1808.*

“ WILLIAM TODD JONES.”



It was a happy presage of national progress to liberality, that the acrimonious bigotry of the ministry was not followed up by the Protestant part of the population. The only application to the legislature against the Catholic claims, was a petition presented by the Duke of Cumberland in the House of Lords, and Mr. Shaw to the House of Commons, from the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council of the city of Dublin. His Royal Highness had failed in his effort to seduce Trinity College into that illiberal measure, even by commination of Royal offence. The Protestant inhabitants of many of the counties in Ireland, presented petitions in favour of the claims of the Catholics.\* There were nine counties, that had shewn the noble example of liberality and sound policy. The counties of Clare and Galway had at meetings convened by the sheriff, expressed their ardent wish for admitting their Catholic brethren to the benefits of the constitution. In the counties of Tipperary, Kilkenny, Roscommon, Waterford, and Meath and in the town of Newry, resolutions to the same effect were entered into, as well by the Protestant gentry and inhabitants, as by the great bulk of Protestant proprietors of land. That recommendation was owing partly to the growing influence of liberality and confidence, partly to the absence of all suspicion of internal intention to invade the landed property of the county on a convenient occasion, but more particularly to the

1808.

Increasing  
liberality of  
Protestants.

\* Vide Mr. Grattan's speech on the Catholic question, 1808.

1807.

strong and immediate feeling of danger, which a divided country would have to encounter in case of hostile invasion. On that principle did wise Protestants deprecate the terrible privilege of an extensive monopoly of constitutional right and political power. On that principle did they come to offer up their monopoly, and to beg the admission of others to defend, as a common right the country, without the sufficient defence of which, neither the preservation of political power, nor of landed property, nor the security of the empire could be hoped for.

Richmond  
administra-  
tion hostile  
to Catholics.  
Mr. Giffard  
and Dr.  
Duigenan.

The Richmond administration acting professedly under the direction, and in the full undisguised spirit of Mr. Perceval Lord Hawkesbury and Lord Chancellor Eldon (they were ashamed to place Lord Redesdale again in a responsible situation) did not affect to disguise or dissemble their Anti-Catholic principles and disposition. In their first fervor had they superseded Mr. Wilson, because he importuned them upon Catholic oppression: they restored to the commission of the peace Mr. Jacob and several of that cast, because they had been superseded by the late administration on account of their acrimony to their Catholic brethren, they appointed to the office of accountant general of his Majesty's revenue of customs in Ireland Mr. John Giffard, whom Lord Hardwicke had displaced from a less valuable situation for his intemperance in traducing the Catholic population of Ireland in the year 1805.\* They were not satis-

\* On the 14th of March, 1808, Lord Hardwicke called the

fied with voting a curtailed grant to the Maynooth establishment, but they insulted and irritated the

1808.

attention of the House of Lords to a transaction, during the discussion of which some observations had late been made upon his conduct, which, he was conscious, were wholly unfounded. The transaction he alluded to, was the removal of a Mr. Giffard from a place, which he held in the revenue office in Ireland. He was only anxious to offer a candid statement of the matter, as it really stood; and that statement, he trusted, would fully vindicate his character, as far as it was implicated in this matter. The noble Earl then observed, that he would not insist on reading extracts from the letters of the noble Secretary of State on this subject, as that, he understood, would be objected to; but he believed he was at liberty to read extracts from his own letters in answer to those of the noble Secretary. The noble Earl then read a variety of extracts from his correspondence in 1805, with the noble Secretary (Lord Hawkesbury) respecting the business of the Catholic petition, and the measures, which the Irish government was instructed to pursue, in order to prevent any irritation of the public mind upon that question. From these extracts it appeared, that the Catholics held private meetings to concert the best mode of preparing and presenting their petition, the result of which they had never published. The whole of their meetings and proceedings were presided over by a noble Lord (Fingal), to the candour, moderation, and temper of whose conduct, throughout the whole of this business, he should be ever happy to bear the testimony such conduct deserved. In order to give effect to the instructions of government he had consulted with all the leading men in Dublin, and had their approbation of the measure he thought it prudent to adopt. The under secretary of government had even been instructed to send a confidential person to Mr. Giffard, and to acquaint him with the wishes of his Majesty's government, respecting the Catholic petition, more particularly specifying those wishes, by informing him, that no discussion should be agitated in Dublin on the question, until it had previously come before, and had been decided on by Parliament. Mr. Giffard had early and repeated admoni-



1805.

country by raising its slanderous traducer Dr. Patrick Duigenan, to a seat in the Privy Council of

tions on this point, but no consideration, he said, should deter him from giving a licking to the Papists. He accordingly made the violent and offensive speeches in the Common Council of Dublin against the Catholics, which were felt to be exceedingly injurious by the Catholics, and which in his opinion were wholly irreconcilable with the wishes and instructions of government. In order to prove the sincerity of the wishes of the noble Secretary, and in compliance with what he conceived to be his own duty, he removed Mr. Giffard from the situation, which he held under government, not, however, without repeated admonitions to desist from every inflammatory proceeding. It was true, that some time after, in May, the noble Secretary expressed some regret at that measure, as it seemed to have given offence to some Protestant Irish gentlemen then in England. Whether the opinions of those gentlemen were right or wrong, he should not now enquire; but he imagined, that the situation he then held, afforded as fair an opportunity of judging of the situation of Ireland, as any of those gentlemen could possibly have had. He had interpreted the instructions of government in the best manner his judgment enabled him to do; and he had not acted, as had been insinuated, with any harsh precipitation towards Mr. Giffard. In order to prove these assertions he should move, that there be laid before the House extracts of the correspondence, which took place between the noble Secretary of state and himself, respecting the manner, in which it was thought proper to act in Ireland with respect to the measure of the Catholic petition. Lord Hawkesbury acknowledged, that nothing could be more candid, than the statement of his noble friend; but still he felt himself not bounden to produce the correspondence moved for; because some of it was of a private nature, and because, if produced, it could answer no purpose. It was true, the conduct of his noble friend in displacing Mr. Giffard, was looked upon as rather harsh by some of the Protestant gentlemen in Ireland and in this country; and indeed, when it was recollected, what Mr. Giffard had suffered during the rebellion, and on

Ireland. These two favourite measures brought forth by the Richmond Administration, in the primitive vigour of their *Anti-popery*, too pointedly illustrate the system, not to be disclosed somewhat in detail.

1808.

In a Committee of Supply, Mr. Foster stated, that additional buildings had lately been made to the College of Maynooth, by which that seminary for the education of Roman Catholic Priests, was able to accomodate fifty students in addition to two hundred formerly educated there. It was therefore his intention to move, that the sum of £9,250 be granted for the support of that institution, from the 5th of January 1808, to the 5th of January, 1809. Sir John Newport moved, that instead of that sum, £13,000 should be granted. He stated the number of students originally educated at this

Curtailed  
Grant to  
Maynooth  
College.

other occasions, with respect to persons naturally most dear to him, these sufferings would carry with them some excuse for his intemperate behaviour. Lord Grenville highly approved of the conduct of his noble friend (Lord Hardwicke), on that occasion; and thought, that the statement he had just made abundantly justified that conduct. He should now content himself with observing, that if at that period government thought it prudent to act with so much caution and moderation, how much more necessary was it for them to conduct themselves with the same temper and moderation under the present circumstances of the two countries. Lord Holland referred to a conversation, which he had with Mr. Fox, on this subject, and thought it but justice to say, that Mr. Fox approved of the general conduct of the noble Earl (Hardwicke) while in Ireland, but of nothing more than of the manner, in which he had acted in the business now under discussion. After a short explanation from Lord Hawkesbury, Lord Hardwicke withdrew his motion.

1808.

seminary to have been 200. At that period however, there were upwards of 470 students educated for the same purpose in different seminaries abroad; 426 of whom received a gratuitous education. In consequence of intermediate events it had been thought adviseable by the late Ministry, that the number of students should be increased from 200 to 400. Sir A. Wellesly stated, that the number of Roman Catholic Clergy in Ireland was from 1200 to 2000, there were of Students at Maynooth 230, and at other places 111, making in the whole 341, who remaining at college from five to seven years, gave an average of 50 annually; being more than sufficient to keep up the number.

Debate  
thereon.

It was observed by Mr. Geo. Ponsonby, as the truth is, that the number of Catholic clergymen in Ireland approached nearer to 3000 than 2000; and considering the laborious nature of their spiritual functions, and the encreased population of the country, that number was insufficient for the purposes of doing justice to their flocks. Mr. Elliot from his long services under different governments in Ireland, informed the Committee, that the grant to the College of Maynooth, previous to the Union, was only £8,000. On the recommendation of the trustees for the Institution, the late Administration proposed to augment the grant to £13,000, and the last Parliament had actually voted that sum. Before this vote could be carried into effect, that Parliament was dissolved; and when the present Parliament met, his Majesty's present Ministers wished to resort to the former sum; but finding,



that the trustees had acted upon the faith of receiving the larger sum, they had in one instance carried into execution the intention of their predecessors. Now, however, they seemed to have overcome in part their objection to granting more than £8000, though they could not be prevailed upon to grant £13,000, so that it was pretty evident, a compromise had taken place between conflicting opinions. It was probable, that the question had been discussed in the cabinet, that there was a difference of opinion respecting it; the terrors of Popery falling more lightly upon the heads of some members in it than of others, and that they had resorted to an expedient not uncommon in private life, called splitting the difference. After a very interesting debate, the Committee divided, and the smaller sum of £9250. was carried by a majority of 25.

Upon bringing up the report another debate took place more curious than the former, on which the Minister had a majority of 24. It was not a little singular, that Mr. Perceval was not supported by one of his colleagues in his pitiful resistance to the application of £3000. to the laudable and necessary purpose of preparing an adequate number of instructors and teachers for 5,000,000 of souls. Sir Arthur Wellesley was officially bounden to resist the increase, Mr. Steven and Mr. Croker supported Mr. Perceval, and Mr. Wilberforce after having, like the Chancellor of the Exchequer, laid in his claim to the most perfect toleration, found that the smaller sum of £9250. was more than ought to be applied

1838.

Debate on  
the report  
and Gen.  
Matthew's  
Speech.

1808.

to the purpose of educating priests in a religion different from the establishment. The most interesting part of that debate came from that warm and staunch friend to his country General Matthew, who expressed his astonishment, that the Hon. General, who came forward as Minister for Ireland, should be more ignorant of its situation, than an humble individual like himself. He could tell that Hon. Member, that the private seminaries were only preparatory schools for the College of Maynooth. He had been, within the last ten days, at Maynooth, and he could assure the House, that unless the whole of the last year's grant should be voted, the buildings upon which former grants had been expended, would fall. There was no lead on the roofs, and the rain penetrated through them. He alluded to the offer made by order of Napoleon, to induce Irish students to go for education to France from Lisbon, and Ireland, upon a promise of the restoration of all the Irish *bourses*, and read an extract from the answer of the Irish Catholic Bishops, stating their gratitude to the government for the liberal support of Maynooth, and denouncing suspension against any functionaries, and exclusion from preferment in Ireland against any students, who should accept the offers of the enemy of their own country. Would any one say after that, that the Catholics were not to be confided in? If they were not to be trusted, why not dismiss them from the army and navy? Why allow them to vote at elections? Why had Lord Westmoreland come down to the Irish Parliament, and

1808.

said, that nothing was to be granted to them, and why had he in six weeks after said, that they were the best subjects in the realm, and that they should get the elective franchise and other privileges? Why had the Duke of Portland, the present prime Minister, said the same? But this was not the act of Ministers. He was sorry to be obliged to allude to the conduct of any of the Royal Family. But, however, it was rumoured, that even the Ministers were disposed to agree to the grant, till they went to St. James's Palace, and were closeted for several hours with a Royal Duke, after which they resorted to the present reduction. That Royal Duke was the Chancellor of the University of Dublin; he was Chancellor of a Protestant school, and might wish to put down the education of the Catholics; but no man, who knew or valued Ireland, as he did himself, could countenance such a project. Unless they acted liberally by the Catholics they would run the hazard of losing Ireland. Mr. C. W. Wynne lamented the secret influence, by which the measures of the government were defeated, and the interests of the country sacrificed. Even the cabinet could not agree upon this reduction. Neither the Duke of Portland, Lord Camden, Mr. Canning nor Lord Castlereagh could have concurred in this proceeding. The Chancellor of the Exchequer disclaimed the imputation thrown out, that the conduct of his Majesty's ministers in opposing that grant was influenced by any of the Princes of the Blood. He declared upon his honor, that he had no communication upon the subject with any indi-



1803.

vidual of that illustrious class. Lord H. Petty could not, when he recollected what had lately taken place in that house, and in another assembly, with respect to another bill, give implicit belief to the assertion of the Rt. Hon. Gentleman, that no secret influence was exercised on this occasion. The grant was nothing to give; it was every thing to refuse.

Dr. Duigenan specially recommended by Duke of Richmond.

Amongst the opposers of the grant of £13,000 to the Maynooth establishment in the latter debate, was Dr. P. Duigenan, who had gone the indecent length of libelling the whole body of the Irish Catholics by the following gross slander. *They were,* said he, *in their theory enemies to the state, and would be so in practice, as soon as they should have an opportunity.* These were the first open fruits of the learned Doctor's having been raised to the dignified situation of one of his Majesty's Privy Council. Mr. Barham could not contain his execration of such scandalous and wicked sentiments. This drew from Mr. Tierney the question to Mr. Perceval, whether the official order for making Doctor Duigenan a privy counsellor had been sent over to Ireland. On a negative answer from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir A. Wellesley apprized the House, that the Right Hon. and learned Gentleman had been specially recommended by the Lord Lieutenant to be a privy counsellor, as from his knowledge of ecclesiastical business he could be of great service in Ireland in that situation. This induced Mr. Barham on a subsequent day to move the House, that an humble address be presented to his Majesty,

1808.

praying, that he would be graciously pleased to order, that there be laid before the House, copies of the extracts of the correspondence, which passed between the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and the Government of this country, as to the appointment of Dr. Patrick Duigenan to a seat in the Privy Council of Ireland. The question being put, Mr. W. Wynne said, he was anxious to hear a vindication of so extraordinary an appointment, and one, which was so much to be lamented. He then alluded to the dismissal and subsequent advancement of Mr. Giffard, and considered the present only as a fresh endeavour to irritate the feelings of the Catholics of Ireland. Sir. A. Wellesley repeated, that applications had been made to Government here, to grant to the learned Doctor as Judge of the Prerogative Court, the office of Member of the Privy Council. Till the time of his predecessor this had been the uniform custom, and it was now resorted to again as a matter of convenience. He believed, that the present session was the first time it had been attempted to be argued, that because a man was friendly to the church, he ought not to be trusted. If the Hon. and learned Doctor had been indiscreet in his language, why was it not taken down at the time, and complaint made to that House? He did not care of what religion a man was. If he could be useful in any line, in that line, he was of opinion, he ought to be employed. Sir John Newport said, there was nothing he could figure so dangerous as such a measure. There was no necessity for it. In England there were only two archbishops and one

1808.

bishop, who were privy counsellors; in Ireland there were no fewer than four archbishops and two bishops; all of them equally qualified to advise in ecclesiastical matters as the learned Doctor. He asserted, it was a novel case to make such an appointment; but when he saw it coupled with other circumstances, with the curtailed grant to the Catholic clergy, with the restoration and promotion of Mr. Giffard, and with the whole acts of the present ministry, it was impossible for the Catholics not to believe this a part of the system, by which the present ministers wished to distinguish their own government, and to irritate and disgust the Catholics. The learned Doctor had been their declared enemy ever since he had been known in public life. He had the other night denounced them as rebels in theory at this moment, and in practice, whenever an opportunity should present itself. It is impossible, therefore, that the Catholics should think this promotion any thing but a seal to the proclamation, denouncing them as rebels and traitors to their country. Mr. J. C. Beresford was of opinion, if the learned Doctor had used the language imputed to him, that he had libelled the country, but that this was no justification of the present motion, which went to trench on the prerogative of the Crown. Although all his Majesty's ministers were present, not one of them had the hardihood to rise in support of so profligate a measure. They were collectively and individually taunted, insulted and goaded by the leading gentlemen of the opposition for several hours. Their



abject forbearance, and sulky silence exposed them as puppets, which the secret manager forced to play parts, which they did not relish, which they could not justify, and which they durst not throw up. At length Lord Castlereagh opened his mouth merely to summon his band of mutes to obey the nod, and 174 stepped forth to negative Mr. Barham's motion, which was only supported by 107, thus leaving a majority of 64, as a triumph to the confused and abashed ministry.

1808.

On no former occasion was the popular mind more unequivocally expressed to be at variance with the wishes and spirit of the government, than on the present. The resolutions of several county meetings of Catholics with reference to their total emancipation held a language of confidence and assurance, which was as new, as it was offensive to the Castle. Nothing however so alarmed the government as the rising harmony and concert of the Protestants with their Catholic countrymen. The Marquis of Headfort, the Earls of Ormonde, Meath and Beshorough, and Viscounts Dillon and Clifden, with 25 Protestant gentlemen of large landed property signed a very strong declaration in favor of the Irish Catholics, and recommended to the numerous portion of their Protestant countrymen, who concurred in those sentiments to make them publicly known by similar declarations in their own counties, or by sending their signatures to be annexed to that. The pith of that declaration was; that as Protestants residents and proprietors in Ireland, and deeply interested in the welfare of their

Some Protestants  
harmonize  
with the Catholics.

1806.

country, they entertained no apprehension or mistrust at the constitutional efforts of their Roman Catholic brethren to obtain the object of their petition: they felt, that the interests of the Protestants and Catholics of Ireland were inseparable. Pointed and impressive resolutions of like tendency were published by the leading Protestants of the town of Newry, Queen's County, Galway, Meath, and others. The Grand Jury of Armagh came to strong resolutions against the tithing system\*. Protestant petitions against the mode of collecting tithes came also from Kerry and Queen's County. In Dublin under the very eye of the Castle, several corporations instructed their representatives to use their best endeavours in Common Council to procure a petition from the Corporation of Dublin to the legislature for a repeal of the Union. A motion to that effect by Mr. Willis at the Quarter Assembly was carried by a majority of 17: 32 of the Castle party under Mr. Giffard voted against the motion, and 49 for it. The press assumed a firmer tone of freedom, than had ever before been known in Ireland. The crying abuses of the prisons under the inspection of Dr. Trevor were loudly and boldly spoken and written about by Protestant gentlemen, particularly Mr. James Tandy and Mr. St. John Mason, to the sore annoyance of government, which had never ceased to lend countenance and afford support to that obnoxious character, against which so many hundreds were clamorously plaintive.

\* Vid. *Introduct.* p. 64. for the form of their resolutions.

Whilst the rejected petition was in Ireland to be signed anew, the Earl of Fingal, to whose sole discretion it had been entrusted, exerted his best energies for securing its success, which he was assured by the friends of the Catholic cause would be greatly forwarded by an admission of the Royal *Veto* in the nomination of the Irish prelacy. This negociation, which has since produced effects of great national importance, though then unforeseen, was of a private nature: and the particulars of it would not have reached the public, had not subsequent events induced the parties to it to make them public. Never was a point of *politico-theological* controversy so fiercely contested, and consequently so misconceived and misrepresented as this question of *Veto*. Lord Fingal had certainly received no specific instruction concerning it from the Catholic meeting, which voted him the sole delegate, guardian and manager of their petition. The subject of a *Veto* was not in contemplation of that meeting. It is fortunate, that the rise and progress of this inflammable meteor can be historically traced with authentic accuracy \*.

1808.

Origin of  
*Veto*.

\* The annalist conceives it incumbent upon him sedulously to avoid all polemical discussion of the *Veto*. Without reviewing the controversy, he feels it a duty to point out the bearing it has upon the municipal laws of the country, of which he writes the history. In order to enable his reader to form his own conclusions upon the separate facts and circumstances of this transaction, as they respectively took place, he narrates them in the chronological order of their existence, not as the knowledge of them came to the public.



1805.

Catholic pe-  
tition pre-  
sented.

State events, like incidents in common life are not fairly appreciated by the remote consequences, be they ever so important, but by the immediate effects and first impressions produced by them upon the persons, whom they originally affected. The unbiassed mind, in order to judge fairly of them, remits its operations retrospectively to the moment, which gave them birth. The Catholic petition having been returned from Ireland with new and *all* genuine signatures, was only presented to the House of Commons on the 25th of May: and inasmuch, as the great and interesting novelty, which distinguished this debate from that of 1805 upon the same subject, arose out of the *Veto*, the most correct account of it will be given in the words of the high character, who on this occasion brought it under the consideration of the public. It is his own solemn testimony given of this transaction, when the Catholic question was last brought before the House of Commons on the 14th of May 1810. Although Mr. Grattan had by parental right, the introduction and management of the Catholic question, yet Mr. Ponsonby, who had powerfully advocated it in parliament, was now the leader in the House of Commons of the political friends of the cause.

Mr. Pon-  
sonby's ne-  
gociation  
with Lord  
Fingal and  
Dr. Milner.

Having been, for a great many years of my life, a sincere and uniform supporter of the Catholic claims, when Lord Fingal came over, two years ago, the sole delegate of the Catholics of Ireland, he was pleased to enter into much confidential conversation with me. I told him, that I had

1808.

observed, in all the intercourse I had with others upon this important subject, that nothing weighed so much, and seemed to have such an operation upon the minds of this country, as the notion, that the Catholics of Ireland were under the controul, and under the jurisdiction of a foreign nation; and I stated, that I understood some communication had formerly taken place between the Catholic Bishops and the Catholic Clergy on that occasion, but that I did not know what it was; for the Noble Lord, on the other side of the House (Lord Castlereagh) is aware, that to his administration no man was more opposed than myself; and, therefore, what was passing under his administration, was less likely to be known to me. Lord Fingal said, he thought so too; but, he said, he believed there would not be much difficulty upon the subject; for that, in 1799\*, the Catholic Bishops had made a proposal to the Irish government, and that they now entertained the same opinion they then entertained. I asked Lord Fingal, if I had per-

\* As so much has been said in and out of parliament concerning the *Veto*, and some imagine, that the Royal nomination, whether positive or negative, would be an accession of patronage to the crown, and of course to the minister, the reader will find in the Appendix, No. I. a very correct statement of the funds and sources, upon which the functionary Catholic clergy subsist in Ireland. It is to be found in the Appendix of Mr. Newnham's last statistical work, in quarto. And in the Appendix, No. II. he will find the resolutions of the ten Irish Prelates, who were Trustees to Maynooth College in 1799, which Mr. Ponsonby here refers to. *Vide* what has been before said upon this subject, Vol. I. p. 51. & seq.

1808.

mission to state such proposal at the present time? He said, certainly; but he added, that the Irish Bishops had in this country one of the Catholic Bishops, who was their agent, and that I had better see him. I said he was unknown to me, but that if Lord Fingal would introduce him to me, I should be glad to have some conversation with him. A day or two after I received a note from Lord Fingal, stating, that Dr. Milner was in Warwickshire, and would write to me. Some time passed, and before the 3d of May, Lord Fingal wrote to say, that Dr. Milner was in London, and that he and Dr. Milner would wait upon me the next day. My answer to his letter appointed the particular time, and accordingly the next day they came to me; the conversation lasted hours; two or three hours at least: there was a great deal of conversation relating to the Catholics, but particularly with regard to the nomination of the Catholic Bishops, and the negative to be given to the Crown. After the conversation had taken place, Lord Fingal and Dr. Milner withdrew, and certainly when they withdrew, nothing had passed in writing, and if it had not been for an event, which afterwards took place, I should not have any thing more to shew for the truth of what I have stated to the House, than my own word, and the confirmation of Lord Fingal; but the day after the conversation had passed, Dr. Milner called at my house again, and he left at my house a ticket and a letter\*."

\* That ticket and letter were produced or given in evidence before the House of Commons on the 14th of May 1810. On



1808.

From this parol evidence of Mr. Ponsonby, confirmed by the written document, it is evident, that

one side of the ticket was written Dr. Milner, Bloomsbury, and on the other these remarks :

1. Protestant Succession. Clause in Oath of Defence Bill.
2. Attending Established Service.  
Service by Articles of War.
3. Catholic Catechism—Thomas Paine's Works.
4. Nomination to Catholic Prelacies.

The letter was in the following words.

“ Dr. Milner presents his respectful compliments to the Right Hon. Mr. Ponsonby, and takes the liberty of stating, distinctly in writing, the substance of what he did say, or meant to say, in the conversation, which he had the honour of holding with Mr. Ponsonby. First, the Catholic Prelates of Ireland are willing to give a *direct negative power* to his Majesty's government, with respect to the nomination of their titular bishoprics, in such manner, that when they have among themselves resolved, who is the fittest person for the vacant See, they will transmit his name to his Majesty's ministers, and if the latter should object to that name, they will transmit another and another, until a name is presented, to which no objection is made ; and (which is never likely to be the case) should the Pope refuse to give those essentially necessary spiritual powers, of which he is the depositary, to the person so presented by the Catholic Bishops, and so approved of by government, they will continue to present the names, until one occurs, which is agreeable to both parties, namely, the Crown and the Apostolic See. It is to be observed, however—1. That the Crown does not interfere with the concerns of any other religious sect, or church, which it does not support.—2. That the nominators in this business, namely, *the Catholic Bishops, have universally sworn allegiance to his Majesty.*—3. That they will moreover engage to nominate no person, who had not taken the oath in question.

“ 2dly. It appears that the clause concerning the *Protestant*

1803.

the proposal or introduction of the *Veto*, was no sudden improvident measure brought on in the warmth of debate. The Catholic body had delegated Lord Fingal upon a plenipotentiary mission to their parliamentary friends and advocates, and were committed by whatever his Lordship should

*Succession*, does not occur in the oath of the Defence Bill; but it would be highly gratifying to the consciences of the Catholic Bishops and clergy, and a great proportion of the laity (should an opportunity occur), if any friend of theirs would distinctly state, in *what sense they understood* that clause, in the oath appointed for them to take, particularly in that of 1791, viz. *as a penalty*, which must for ever remain upon them, and to which *they submit with all humility, not as an engagement*, which they take upon themselves, in such sort, that they would *be obliged to take no arms against his Majesty, if he were to go to mass*. They conceive themselves justified in understanding the clause in this sense, by the most positive assurances, that such was the meaning of the legislature, which were given them in 1791, by Bishop Horsey, and other distinguished Senators, who managed the bill in parliament.

3dly. The practice of forcing Catholic soldiers and sailors to attend the established service of the Church of England, and every where else, except in Ireland, is a religious grievance and oppression, which is deeply felt by all Catholics, particularly by the subjects of this intolerance.

4thly. Mr. Ponsonby was so good as to say, that he would disclaim, in the name of the Catholics of Ireland, the civil and religious code of Thomas Paine, which they have been accused in the newspapers at least, of teaching and holding.

Dr. Milner has not, of course, had an opportunity yet of consulting with the Catholic Prelates of Ireland on the important subject of the Catholic presentations; but *he has every reason to believe*, that they will cheerfully subscribe to the plan traced out in the first page of this note."

11, Queen street, Bloomsbury-square.

instruct or consent to their proposing to Parliament. Under color or in exercise of that plenary discretion, he referred Mr. Ponsonby to their accredited agent for the Irish Prelate's assent and approbation of the *Veto*: himself a Catholic Prelate of great zeal and ecclesiastical erudition. By the indorsement on his card, and the corresponding divisions of his letter, the long conversation of the preceding day appears to have been methodized, and much thought of both before and after it had taken place. The omission of a date to Dr. Milner's letter, leaves in doubt, whether Mr. Ponsonby received the instructions and explanation some weeks, or only some days before the petition was presented by Mr. Grattan, on Wednesday the 25th of May 1808, on which same day Mr. Sheridan presented a separate petition of the like tendency from the Roman Catholics of the county of Wexford, Sir John Newport from those of the county of Waterford, Mr. Butler from those of the county of Kilkenney, and Mr. M. Fitzgerald from those of the county of Kerry. Mr. Shaw, one of the members for Dublin city, presented the only counter-petition, which came from the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of the city of Dublin. They were all ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. Grattan having presented the petition, it was read by the clerk: he then observed, that with the number of names subscribed to that, as well as to the other petitions presented that day for the same object, no doubt would any where exist, as to the full expression of the Catholic mind in Ire-

1808.

Mr. Grattan proposes the *Veto*



1808.

land upon the subject before the House. It would be redundant to remark, that Mr. Grattan prefaced his motion, that the petition should be referred to a committee of the whole House, with an animated speech, which in his wonted brilliancy conveyed to his hearers even upon so trite a subject, a mass of instruction and resistless weight of argument. He congratulated the House upon the growth of national tolerance and liberality. In spite of the unworthy efforts of a fanatic administration to raise the yell of no Popery, one solitary corporation only had petitioned against the claimants; whereas in 1805, counter-petitions had come in from some of the most respectable corporations of the land. The important novelty of Mr. Grattan's speech consisted of what he said upon the *Veto*. "The influence of the Pope so far was purely spiritual, and did not extend even to the appointment of the members of his Catholic hierarchy. They nominated themselves, and looked to the Pope, but for his spiritual sanction of such nomination. But if it should be supposed, that there was the smallest danger in this course, he had a proposition to suggest, which *he had authority to state, which indeed he was instructed to make*; namely, that his Majesty may interfere upon any such occasion with his negative. This would have the effect of preventing any Catholic ecclesiastic being advanced to the government of that Church in Ireland, who was not politically approved of by the government of that country. If it were true, that Bonaparte had controul over

1838.

the Pope, the Pope over the Catholic clergy in Ireland, and the Catholic clergy over the Catholic laity there; then it followed, that Bonaparte had a controul over a large proportion of the British army and navy. It was in the present situation of things, therefore, if such controul existed, that the danger was to be apprehended, and not from granting the prayer of the petitioners. The proposition he had now made would remove all that danger at once, and establish the moral and political integrity of his Majesty's dominions. He asked of parliament, therefore, to accept his proposition, and grant the prayer of the Catholics, to invigorate the constitution by connecting the Catholic people with the Parliament, and connecting the King with the Catholic clergy by the interference, which he would exercise with the appointment."

The next person, who in this debate mentioned the proposition of a Royal *Veto* was Mr. G. Ponsonby, who is reported to have thus lightly touched upon it. As to the danger to be apprehended from the Pope's connection with the Irish Catholics arising out of the dominion of Bonaparte over that personage, he appealed to the common sense of the House, whether any thing were to be apprehended from that quarter. What motive could the Pope have to promote the wishes of Bonaparte? He certainly should not be prompted by affection or interest to do so. But in order to remove all apprehensions on that head, *he was authorized to say*, that the Catholic clergy were willing in the event of the measure before the House being acceded to,

Mr. Ponsonby proposes the *Veto*.

1808.

that the appointment of every Catholic Bishop in Ireland should in future finally vest in the King. Mr. Yorke expressed a particular wish to know upon what authority Mr. Ponsonby grounded his statement relative to the disposition of the Irish clergy, as to the future appointment of their Bishops; that circumstance, if well founded, must serve to remove a principal objection to the Catholic claims. Mr. Ponsonby answered, that he made the statement upon the authority of Dr. Milner, who was a Catholic Bishop in this country, and who was authorized by the Catholic Bishops of Ireland to make the proposition, in case the measure of Catholic emancipation should be acceded to. The proposition was this; that the person to be nominated to a vacant bishopric should be submitted to the King's approbation; and that if the approbation were refused, another person should be proposed, and so on in succession until his Majesty's approbation should be obtained, so that the appointment should finally rest with the King.

Mr. Perceval's speech  
on *Peto*.

Mr. Perceval, although adverse to that proposition, begged to be understood to be anxious for any measure, that should serve to content and conciliate the Irish. This proposition did not appear to him likely to produce the effect, and therefore he should oppose it. It might serve to tranquillize the Catholics: even that was problematical; but it would create discontent among the Protestants and Dissenters. There was a petition on the table, which justified that apprehension, he meant the petition from the corporation of Dublin. The



Right Hon. Gentleman desired to record his sentiment, that notwithstanding his present objections to the claims of the Catholics, he should not conceive himself precluded from supporting those claims under different circumstances, in the event, for instance, *of a change taking place in the Catholic religion itself.* On the division upon Mr. Grattan's motion, the minister had a majority of 153 : 128 having voted for going into the committee, and 281 against it.

1808.

On the 27th of May, Lord Grenville prefaced his motion for referring the Catholic petition to a committee by an elaborate and impressive speech: the novelty of which was his proposal of the *Veto* to their Lordship's consideration. He spoke more minutely upon it, than either Mr. Grattan or Mr. Ponsonby. "I am perfectly willing, that in the committee, if it should be the decision of the House to go into a committee, your Lordships should discuss in what way consistent with the support and the safety of the establishment in church and state, the prayer of this petition can be granted; whether it may be advisable to grant the whole, or only part of the prayer of this petition; and also what checks may be necessary in the event of granting that prayer for the security of the establishment of the government. In stating, my Lords, my ideas upon this subject, I must refer to the period of the Union, and to the sentiments and views of one, of whom I can never speak without respect and affection, I mean Mr. Pitt. *Upon this subject our ideas and opinions were the same.* He

Lord Grenville presents the petition to the Lords.

1808.

was fully convinced of the policy and the necessity of removing those disabilities, under which our Catholic fellow-subjects laboured; and a measure of this nature formed a part of a great system, which it was his object to apply to the state of Ireland, for the purpose of effecting that most desirable object, the union of all classes in the common cause of the country. A part of this system was, that the King should have a negative in the nomination of those of the Catholic clergy, who are allowed to exercise episcopal jurisdiction, and no one *should act in that capacity without the approbation of the Crown.* I am glad, my Lords, that a proposition to this effect has been recently publicly stated. I was convinced, that the good sense of the Catholics would induce them to see the propriety of *giving way upon this point*; and I am glad it has been so stated, although I am not surprized; it having been, as I have already observed, *a part of the system, which was in contemplation at the time of the Union.* It is also in my opinion highly expedient, that the Catholic clergy should have the means of obtaining a decent subsistence. I do not mean, that they should have any more; but a decent subsistence ought to be within their power. The objection to a foreign supremacy is, in a great degree, obviated by the proposition, that the Catholic Bishops should be approved of by the King, which obviates the objection as to all *temporal* purposes. The objection of foreign supremacy must mean *temporal* supremacy, or else it is not fairly applied. Your Lord-

1898.

ships do not acknowledge a *spiritual supremacy* in the King; or, if I may be allowed the expression, do not acknowledge the King to be Pope of the Established Church. That species of supremacy was indeed claimed by the rashness of Henry the Eighth, who was a man, whom it was dangerous to resist, even in his most wanton caprices. Subsequently, however, wiser men formed those opinions, which are at present the basis of our church establishment, and of which that claim to supremacy forms no part. No one of our Princes, therefore, has ever claimed that supremacy, except Henry the Eighth. In acknowledging the King's supremacy, and *not a spiritual supremacy*, your Lordships know, that there are two established religions in Great Britain: and in that of Scotland, the distinction, which I have just stated, is more remarkably exemplified; the established Presbyterian Church of that part of the island not acknowledging in the King any supremacy. The existence, therefore, of a *spiritual supremacy* is merely an article of speculative belief, and the belief of the Catholics on that point ought not to be urged in bar of their claims. To secure the temporal supremacy of the government, for all temporal purposes, is all that can be desired, and this I conceive might be effected without interfering with any speculative belief of the Catholics with respect to any spiritual supremacy of the Pope. We hold this tenet of the supremacy of the Pope to be erroneous; but it appears to be absurd to suppose, that the Catholics, though believing in this speculative tenet of



1608.

the supremacy of the Pope, may not be equally good subjects and equally disposed to defend their country with their Protestant fellow-subjects. The present oath of supremacy appears to have been framed with a captious desire to exclude Catholics. An oath might, I conceive, be framed, freed from that captiousness, acknowledging the temporal supremacy of the King, but not meddling with the tenet of spiritual supremacy."

Lord Sid-  
mouth.

Lord Sidmouth was the only Lord, who in that debate replied to this part of Lord Grenville's speech. He, like all the opposers of the motion, loudly laid in his claim to toleration, in proportion as he resisted the Catholics claims to be tolerated: "To toleration in its largest sense he was a friend. He would have the Catholic clergy paid by the state, in order to prevent the necessity of their paying court to the caprices of their flocks, and also to relieve the people from the burthen of maintaining two sets of clergy, and from that subserviency to the Priests, which prevailed too much in consequence of the present system. He did not think the proffered controul of the Crown over the appointment of the Catholic Bishops would afford a sufficient security against the undue exercise of foreign influence." At five o'clock in the morning, upon the division, 74, including proxies, voted for the motion, against 181, who opposed it, leaving a majority to the minister of 87\*.

\* Beyond the novelty of introducing the question of *Veto* to the consideration of parliament, this debate was remarkable for the singularity of the warm support of the motion by one of the

Out of these debates arose the *Veto* controversy, which for these last three years has given employment to the minds and pens of several of the best informed, the most zealous, and the most interested in the question. The lists have been entered by able volunteers not of the Catholic persuasion: and England has sent forth many ardent combatants: the arena still continues, as it has

1803.  
Origin of  
the *Veto*  
contro-  
versy.

established hierarchy. The Bishop of Norwich (Dr. Bathurst), in a liberal and enlightened argument, detailed the grounds of his difference on this occasion from most members of his dignified order. On the same elevated level of Christian benevolence and political wisdom, stands the learned Prelate of Landaff: to whose pastoral charge, delivered to his clergy in June 1805, within very few days after the agitation of the Catholic question in that year, and published for the first time on the 1st of June 1808, in three days after Lord Grenville had brought on the question this second time, is prefixed the following advertisement.

“ A numerous and respectable part of the clergy of my diocese requested me, at the time it was delivered, to publish the Charge now submitted to the world: I excused myself from complying with their request, because I considered *the Catholic Question* to have been then settled, at least for a time; and I was unwilling to revive the discussion of a subject, on which I had the misfortune to differ in opinion from a majority in each House of Parliament. I have still that misfortune; but looking upon the situation of the empire to be abundantly more hazardous now than it was three years ago, I have thought it a duty to declare publicly my approbation of a measure, calculated, I sincerely believe, above all other measures, to support the independence of the country, to secure the stability of the throne, to promote peace among fellow-subjects, and charity among fellow-christians, and in no probable degree dangerous to the constitution, either in church or state.

“ R. L.”

Calgarth Park, 1st June, 1808.

1808.

been from the commencement of the contest, promiscuously filled with ecclesiastical and lay antagonists. Where a question involves controvertible matter of religious doctrine, touches ecclesiastical discipline, embraces patronage, affects Royal interference, gives state influence, and produces some (however slender) emolument and temporal benefit, there it must be expected, that truth, candor, and decorum, will sometimes overstep their boundaries. On the other hand, obscurity, doubts and difficulties are cleared away by collision and grappling, and simplicity and harmony grace the triumph of truth. The most prominent and active character in this polemical contest was Dr. Milner, and he has informed the public, that \* *the very morning after*

\* The author refrains from referring his reader to the particular work out of the many published by that respectable prelate on the *Veto*, from which this quotation is taken, as he means to avoid with punctilious scrupulosity passing any judgment upon the controversy. He submits however to his reader's observation one circumstance, that preceded it. Lord Grenville dilated upon, and rather confirmed, than retracted or qualified the instruction to offer the proposal to Parliament. Now as Lord Fingal and Doctor Milner were both in London, it appears strange, that on the intermediate day, viz. the 26th, on which Dr. Milner wrote, printed and published his protest against what Mr. Ponsonby had advanced in the Commons, Lord Grenville should not have been instructed to retract, deny, qualify, soften or explain the assumptions and proposals of Mr. Ponsonby, against which Dr. Milner had protested. If such instructions were given to Lord Grenville at any time between the 25th and 27th, it is more strange, that they should have been wholly unnoticed by that Noble Lord in his speech, or that his refusal or neglect to refer to them should not have been complained of by any of those, who afterwards entered so warmly into the contest, as to



the debate, namely May 26, he printed a protest against the use, which had been made of his name on

1808.

remind us of the heathen's exclamation, *Tantane animis celestibus ira?* Another reflection, antecedent to and therefore independent of the controversy, but not immaterial to the history of the Veto, arises out of the long and mysterious suppression from the knowledge of the Catholic body, of the resolutions of the Clerical Trustees of Maynooth College in 1799, which never came fully to light till 1810. It is not surprising, that respectable prelates should wish to conceal them from the eyes of the public, and particularly of such of their friends, as they wished to engage in their cause, and whose esteem and confidence they consequently courted. They were the base offspring of their unguarded connection with Mr. Pitt, whilst he was meditating the Union; which they have been sorely lamenting from the hour they found themselves swindled out of the stipulated price of their seduction. Even Mr. Ponsonby declared on the 13th of May, 1810, that he was ignorant of what had passed between the Catholic Bishops and the Administration in 1799. *Although he had heard of some communication, yet he knew not what it was:* and from his opposition to that administration he was not likely to know it. Nor does it appear, that Lord Fingal, who from the beginning was privy to the intrigue, thought proper to declare it to Mr. Ponsonby, when giving him instructions in 1808, to manage and direct the Catholic cause in the House of Commons. All that was then confided to him upon this head, was that in 1799 the Catholic Bishops had made a proposal to the Irish Government, and that they now entertained the same opinion they then entertained. Lord Grenville stood not in need of any special instruction upon that head. It has been observed, that he boasted that Mr. Pitt, (whose ideas and opinions upon the subject were the same as his own) had made it a part of the system, that the King should have a negative in the nomination of those of the Catholic clergy, who are allowed to exercise episcopal jurisdiction, and no one should act in that capacity without the approbation of the Crown. He was glad the proposition had been made in the other House, it having been part of the system at the time of the Union. In the like predicament stood Mr. Elliott, who then held the situation

1803.

*the preceding evening with respect to the proposal in question. This was the step, which gave immediate rise to the controversy.*

Sir J. Cox  
Hippesley's  
conduct in  
this matter.

In January 1806, Sir John Cox Hippesley, a warm and indefatigable advocate of the Catholic cause, committed to print (though he did not publish) an instructive and interesting pamphlet, which

of Irish Under-Secretary of State to Lord Castlereagh, and was therefore the most likely to be informed of the nature of the communications between them and the Roman Catholics." I do not rise, said he, for the purpose of entering into any discussion on the general topic; but in consequence of what has fallen from my Noble Friend opposite (Lord Castlereagh), merely to advert to the circumstances of the Union, of which I may be supposed to have official knowledge; and the nature of the expectations held out to the Catholics, in order to conciliate their acquiescence in that measure. My Noble Lord has said, that no pledge was given to the Catholics, that their full emancipation was to be the immediate consequence of this measure, in consideration of their support. *It is true, indeed, that no bond was given to the Catholics on that point; but there were certainly expectations, and something like promises, held out to them, which in my mind, ought to be more binding than a bond.* Those, who had signed the resolutions of 1799, and those, who now acted for or sympathized with them, were placed in an embarrassed situation, when they had to represent themselves as insidiously and treacherously seduced to give all their aid in support of a measure, which threatens to be mortal to their country, now applying to its staunch opponents to procure for them that very bribe, in the contemplation of which they had federated to oppose them, as the political enemies of Mr. Pitt and his deliterious designs upon Ireland. The negotiation with Mr. Pitt could not greatly forward them in the eyes of Mr. Ponsonby and Mr. Grattan, however it might advance them in the confidence and estimation of Lord Grenville and Mr. Elliott, who still affected to boast of the intrigue.

1808.

he entitled, "The substance of additional observations, intended to have been delivered in the House of Commons in the debate on the petition of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, on the 13th and 14th of May, 1805." Of all his Majesty's subjects this gentleman has perhaps the most knowledge of the modern stile and spirit of the court of Rome, of the relations kept up between the Roman Pontiff and Catholic and other independent states, and of the nature, forms and practice, by which the see of Rome exercises externally supreme jurisdiction over its spiritual subjects. During Mr. Pitt's administration he spent some years at Rome under a secret mission of unavowed diplomacy to the Roman Pontiff. His knowledge therefore and experience render his attachment and friendship to his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects the more valuable. What he said or wrote upon this subject in the year 1805, could not have been tainted with that polemical leaven, which only raised the question into controversy in 1803. The information he then gave as to the origin of the Veto, is proportionably valuable and authentic, as coming from a principal actor in the business. His words are (p. 115). "And now, Sir, (speaking of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, I beg to examine the subject a little further; and I am the more induced to do so, as an honorable and learned member, who spoke with great temper and intelligence, has entertained an opinion, that his Majesty, instead of the see of Rome should, in future, nominate to the vacant sees of Bishops of the Roman Commu-



1803.

nion, and has asked my honorable friend (who has this day moved the question) to what extent the Catholics would go in this respect. I conceive, Sir, neither the Catholics could consistently concede such an innovation, nor could his Majesty consistently assume such an unprecedented exercise of power.\*

“ But the wholesome end, which the learned gentleman had in view, might easily be attained by another regulation, though not directly by the means he has proposed. In the vacancy of any titular Roman Catholic diocese in Ireland, the chapter elects a Vicar capitular, to govern it *per interim*, and having what is termed the right of postulation; the chapter also recommends three persons to the

\* Mr. Burke in his letter to a peer in Ireland on the penal laws against Catholics, speaking of the measure then suggested, of giving to the Castle the patronage of the presiding members of the Catholic Clergy, thus expressed himself. Never were the members of one religious sect fit to appoint pastors to another. Those, who have no regard for their welfare, reputation, or internal quiet, will not appoint such as are proper. The Seraglio of Constantinople is as equitable as we are, whether Catholics or Protestants; and where their own sect is concerned, full as religious; but the sport, which they make of the miserable dignities of the Greek Church, the factions of the Haram, to which they make them subservient, the continual sale, to which they expose and re-expose the same dignity, and by which they squeeze all the inferior orders of the clergy is nearly equal to all the other oppressions together, exercised by Musselmén over the unhappy members of the Oriental Church. It is a great deal to suppose, that the present Castle would nominate Bishops for the Roman Church of Ireland, with a religious regard for its welfare. Perhaps they cannot, perhaps dare not do it, &c. &c. &c.

see of Rome, and confirmation with the permission of being ordained is granted to one of them; generally to the first on the list. The titular Deans are also appointed by the Pope, on the recommendation of their respective diocesans, and in this instance also a papal bull is necessarily expedited. Among the various regulations I ventured to suggest to his Majesty's Government, at that period, to which I before alluded antecedent to the Union, was one providing, that in future all lists of persons recommended to fill vacant titular sees or deaneries previous to their transmission to Rome, should be communicated to his Majesty's ministers, stating the particular clerical situation or charge, residence, and other circumstances connected with each person so recommended. It is certain, that by the *concordat* between Francis I. and Pope Leo X. this monarch secured to the Crown the nomination to all the vacant bishoprics within the realm, leaving merely the formality of collation to Rome. In a Protestant government we cannot see the same direct facility; but from the adoption of the measure suggested, there is no doubt, but the names thus submitted to government, would be unexceptionable as to their choice. I have stated the practice heretofore obtaining in the united provinces, when any exception was taken to the person nominated. We will not suppose, with respect to the particular appointment, that it could be wished to be made an object of *state patronage*. I could however without difficulty point out several instances (and indeed I have already adverted to two such) where Rome

1808.

and Mr. Sturt

1806.

has invariably fixed her choice on the individual, who was represented as carrying with him the countenance of his Majesty's ministers.\* Were we to go into a Committee I should think the occasion favourable for adducing many other heads of regulation, which I conceive to be usefully connected with the concession of the objects of the Petition, so necessary, in my own opinion at least, that I should not think myself justified in voting ultimately in favour of that concession, if unaccompanied with provisions of a similar tendency; and, under the influence of the same opinion, they were submitted to the consideration of his Majesty's ministers, while the great measure of the Union was then pending. I should hope, that no Catholic subject of his Majesty would imagine, that those regulations were suggested from my thinking less favourably of the mass of the Roman Catholics of this kingdom, than those of the Established communion. I am persuaded, that such regulations would not be considered even at Rome, as incompatible with the acknowledgment of its spiritual supremacy: but in acknowledging that supremacy, I cannot participate in the alarms of an Honourable and learned Member (Mr. Alexander), who considers the "*Papistry*" as he terms it, of the Roman Catholics, more formidable in Ireland at present, than before the Reformation. If it be so, let us meet the evil with wholesome and practicable provisions, extending equally to every part of the United

\* In the instance of Doctor Troy and Doctor Hussey. Others also might be named.



1803.

Kindgom. Cease then to stigmatize with the most opprobrious epithets, the Sovereign Pontiff. Do not any longer hold out, in the pages of our Rubric the terrors of Popish plots, to no other end than to create uncharitable distinctions, and excite lawless riot. Our James the 1st. felt no difficulty in corresponding with this dreaded Pontiff, nor in acknowledging him as the first of Christian Bishops in rank and dignity. Nor in styling him the Patriarch of the West. We must admit, in favour of the great mass of our Catholic fellow-subjects, that their Bishops *must have their mission from him*, and that recourse in all (which they term) *the greater causes* must be had to him; but as I have observed, let us guard that intercourse, and fence it with the most rational and secure barriers against any possible encroachment, that can be made upon our constitution, after the example of other states, who have manifested an equal jealousy; to preserve their rights and liberties, civil and ecclesiastical, from violation. I agree however with the same honorable and learned member in a conviction, that *without a knowledge of the Catholic doctrines, and of the influence of those doctrines, the question cannot be fairly understood, and that wilful or assumed ignorance of their opinions is unjustifiable in a gentleman agitating such a question.*

The only means, by which the public can acquire the knowledge of what has been spoken in either House of Parliament, is from the uncontradicted reports of the speeches there delivered. The principles and conduct of Lord Grenville upon

Lord Grenville's letter.

1808.

this momentous question of the Royal *Veto* are supereminently interesting to Ireland, and by necessary consequence involve the welfare of the British Empire. On the 22d of January 1810, Lord Grenville removed every doubt (had any ever existed) of the substantial fidelity of the reports published of his speech on the 27th of May 1808, by a letter written to Lord Fingal (evidently with a view to publication), in which he formally re-adopts all his former opinions, and glories in identifying himself with reference to them with Mr. Pitt, the *greatest Statesman of our time now no more*. He reminds his Lordship, that the petition in 1808 was brought on with the concurrence of his Lordship, to whom the exclusive charge of it had been committed, and of Dr. Milner the accredited agent of the Irish Bishops, to whose office the matter related. Then with a retrospect evidently to the published reports of his speech on that occasion (which if substantially false he would have then noticed), he says. “What I said on the  
 “ subject in the House of Lords was spoken in the  
 “ hearing of both, and I received from both,  
 “ whilst the impression was yet recent on your  
 “ minds the most gratifying acknowledgment of  
 “ your satisfaction in all that I had stated\*.” Taking then together the speech and the letter, as the sentiments of the same person upon one subject, though delivered at distant periods with all

\* That letter of Lord Fingal is a semi official manifesto of the sentiments of Lord Grenville and his party upon this important question. It is therefore given in the Appendix, No. III.

the advantage of intermediate experience and reflection, and with all deference due to the respectability and national consequence of the noble personage, they not only force upon the mind the recollection of what Mr. Pitt had said and done, but command attention to the existing laws bearing upon the subject.

Under such impressions the reflecting mind reverts to Mr. Pitt's reply to Mr. (now Lord) Grey in 1801 \*, upon his motion for taking into consideration the state of the nation. That minister's insincerity and craft with reference to the Irish Catholics, were so forcibly exposed by the honorable mover, that he was thrown off his guard, and in the intuitive foresight of the future difficulty of defending his own inconsistency, and redeeming his insidious pledge, he anticipated the plea, upon which he meant ultimately to make his stand, when the Catholics should be in a situation of demanding of him the *pretium fœderis*, for which some of them had been seduced (without legitimate authority) to sign the mock concordat of 1799. Borne down and exposed by the power of Mr. Grey's argument, in the unguarded soreness of humiliated pride, he avowed a reserved intention of clogging his offer or undertaking to the duped Catholics, with such conditions and provisoes, as would render the consideration, or *boon*, as it has been ineptly termed, invaluable to the Catholics, and unfit for their real friends to urge on their behalf. *Although the gentlemen opposite to me, may*

1808.

Mr. Pitt's  
original design  
of the  
Veto.

\* Vide antea, Vol. I. p. 51. and seq. and Vol. II. p. 142.



1808.

*agree with me in the necessity of Catholic emancipation, yet I believe, I shall not be entitled to their support, when I state the principles, upon which I intended to have brought it forward.* To the generality of the House, that must then have appeared a declaration of mysterious obscurity. Mr. Pitt was still more violently pressed upon the hollow perfidy of his conduct to the Irish in the debate upon the Catholic question in 1805, and he then let himself out somewhat more fully, though still indistinctly, upon his intent to clog the tender of emancipation with terms inadmissible to the Catholics. Once more in office, he craftily wrapped up his boasted views of liberating Ireland in more enigmatical plausibility, than he did when out of office in 1801. He then assured his opponents with pceevish asperity, that though they might pride themselves upon his agreeing with them upon one point of liberal policy, yet his adoption of it, was but momentary and occasional, to break his fall from power, which he meant quickly to resume, when they would judge by his future conduct towards the Catholics, how little he meant to carry into effect those plans of civil and religious freedom, to which they alluded. Still was the concordat of 1799 kept in darkness.

In the identified spirit of Mr. Pitt's sentiments and views, Lord Grenville in 1808, kept out of sight the whole negociation between the Irish government and the Maynooth Trustees: reserving that *illegitimate concordat* to plead in the last stage in bar of *unconditional* emancipation. His Lord-

Lord Grenville's further conduct.

ship's letter of 1810, gives the full meaning and elucidation to the general and (otherwise not very intelligible) speech of 1808. An identity of wish to be considered by the Catholics a staunch and unqualified friend of their emancipation was equally observable in Lord Grenville, as in Mr. Pitt, till pushed to some interested and critical moment. From the time Lord Grenville had introduced the Catholic petition to the House of Lords in 1805, he had been looked up to by them as a warm, sincere, unqualified friend of their cause. The vacancy in the Chancellorship of the University of Oxford, occasioned by the death of the Duke of Portland, opened an interesting object to Lord Grenville's political views. In the command and support of that respectable seat of learning he foresaw many advantages: he bore in mind the effect of their petition in 1805, to counteract that, which his Lordship had presented to the House of Lords in favor of the Irish Catholics: and sensibly felt the consequences of his declining interest in that learned body from that very measure. Conscious, that the imputation of befriending popery, would be used as a powerful weapon in the hands of his electioneering enemies, he was driven to the necessity of raising the vizor of liberality, under which he had hitherto deluded Catholic credulity; and disclose to his Protestant supporters, the genuine features, which infallibly indicated the political protestantism of his mind. He was forced to prove to his Oxford electors the reduction to practice of those principles, which Mr. Pitt (his second self)

1808.

1808.

had with malevolent haughtiness declared in 1801, would not entitle him to the support of those, who from opposite principles were systematic supporters of civil and *religious* freedom. He well knew, that the enlightened policy of Mr. Fox would not entitle him to a majority of votes, though the growth of liberality had been lately rapid, particularly throughout the younger members of the University. With a view therefore to ensure the support of such, as would have opposed him for having abandoned Mr. Pitt's principles (his Lordship had for some time dissembled them), he is believed to have written, or caused to be written a letter or paper, explanatory of his conduct, and declaratory of his intentions towards the Roman Catholics. It was a secret Protestant manifesto; not to be seen, lest it should be commented upon by any Catholic. It was confided to the head of a College, his Lordship's particular friend, the zealous and successful manager of his election; to be read in his discretion to such friends, as were likely to be serviceable in the election, but to be handled or copied by none. Sir John Cox Hipplesley, who was even more than *a secretis* to Lord Grenville in all, that concerns the *Veto*, in a note to the publication of his own speech on seconding Mr. Grattan's motion in 1810, in order to disprove an assertion, that the Ex-ministers stood pledged to support *unconditional Catholic emancipation*, refers to a letter written during the contest for the Chancellorship of Oxford: from which he has given the following extract. Had not the letter been genuine, and



accredited by the Ex-minister himself, it would have been of no authority, in disproving what Lord Grenville had in his late letter to Lord Fingal so tenaciously maintained and defended \*.

1808.

“ The state of the question, as agitated in Parliament, is in general very ill understood. The Catholics petitioned for equal rights. Lord Grenville never moved, that the House should agree to the prayer of the petition ; but that it should resolve itself into a committee to *consider the petition*. In that committee, he adds, the subject could be fully investigated ; to consider what new safeguards its adoption might require, by what suggestions jealousy could be satisfied, and fear allayed ; that, on this subject, he had concurred entirely with Mr. Pitt ; their opinions had been formed together, by mutual communication and unreserved confidence ; their plans embraced the whole ecclesiastical state of Ireland, including measures of considerable benefit to the Established Church, calculated to promote both its honor and advantage. The erection of churches and glebe-houses in a country, where, of 2400 parishes, not more than 400 had glebe-houses, formed an essential part of their plan. The state of the Roman Catholic Church administering to the spiritual

Lord Grenville's letter to his Oxford friends.

\* Vide note, p. 14, 15, and 16 of, “ Substance of the speech of Sir John Cox Hippenley, Bart. on seconding the motion of the Right Hon. Henry Grattan to refer the petition of the Roman Catholics of Ireland to a committee of the House of Commons on Friday the 18th of May 1810.” *Faulder*. London.

1808.

wants of 4,000,000 of our people, had also been an object of their deliberate consideration. If you tolerate the Roman Catholic Church, which is episcopal, you must of course allow it to have Bishops. *It is unquestionably proper, that the Crown should exercise an effectual negative over the appointment of the persons called to exercise these functions.* Lord Grenville then proceeded to enumerate the measures, with which Mr. Pitt and himself always meant to accompany the proposal. Great and important safeguards (says his Lordship) they were for the civil and ecclesiastical constitution of the realm; wise and salutary provisions for promoting the interests of religion, for extending the beneficial intercourse of our reformed and Established Church, for conciliating the warmest affections of a people, whose various interests and feelings were thus consulted, and for insuring the success of a system of universal and unreserved benevolence. What I ask (says Lord Grenville) is only, that you should enter fully into the discussion of the subject; whatever be the result of your deliberations, much benefit will be derived from the mere examination of these questions; asperities will be softened, unfounded jealousies allayed. Let it be indelibly impressed upon the mind of Ireland, that it is only by union, by close and intimate union with Great Britain, that she can, in this dreadful convulsion of the world, defend her soil, protect her people, or maintain her independence."

1808.

The penal  
code not re-  
pealed.

It can be unknown to few, that whenever the legislature has thought fit to relax the extreme severity of any parts of the penal code against the Catholics, it has been generally done by statutes exempting such individuals, as shall comply with new conditions from the old pains, penalties and disabilities. The old statutes are not repealed, but operate in their primeval force upon all persons indefinitely, who have not *actually* complied with those new conditions. The acts therefore for preventing the growth of Popery, and for making the profession and exercise of the Catholic religion, the receipt of holy orders, and the application for bulls or rescripts to the See of Rome, criminal, penal and capital, are at this hour existing laws of the realm, as much as the 1st of William and Mary, for establishing the coronation oath, which binds his Majesty *to govern his people according to the statutes in Parliament agreed on, and the laws and customs of the realm.* Whilst therefore those statutes for making criminal, checking and punishing the profession and exercise of the Catholic religion, which have been agreed on in Parliament, remain unrepealed, bold are the men, who advise his Majesty to become accessory to the guilt of his subjects, by encouraging the stability and growth of Popery, by recommending and approving of *illegal* Bishops to be confirmed by papal bulls, and introducing the statute thunderbolts of the Vatican to burst over the heads of his liege subjects. Such must be the direct effects of the Royal *Veto*, whilst that penal code retains life and force by re-



1808.

maining unrepealed. Statutes not enforced for a length of time cannot with us, as they formerly did in Scotland, run into *desuetude*. Nothing short of actual repeal can make an act of Parliament unlimited in its duration cease to be a *statute in Parliament agreed on*, according to which his Majesty is bounden to govern his people. Hence it becomes the paramount duty of every minister and responsible servant of the Crown to advise the repeal of every law, that operates injustice upon the subject, brings mischief to the realm, and thwarts the justice and benevolence of the Sovereign. Above one-third of his Majesty's subjects profess the Roman Catholic religion, by which they differ from those, who profess the Protestant episcopalian religion as by law established. The great mass of this third portion of the British Empire consists of the population of Ireland. Without entering into any polemical disquisition concerning religious creeds on speculative points, it becomes proper to look into that point of difference, which has latterly become so practical, as to be in fact set up and insisted upon by Government and Parliament, as the grand, if not the sole obstacle to the Catholics participation of all the civil rights of their country. At the time of the Reformation under Henry VIII, such of his subjects, as did not give into it, were called *Roman Catholics*, (or *Papists*), because they continued to submit to, and acknowledge the Bishop of Rome, or Pope, as the universal Primate of the Catholic hierarchy. Almost the entire of Ireland then refused

to adopt that reformation. The bulk of its present population still refuses upon the same principles as their ancestors to submit to it. His present Majesty having been wisely advised, that such recusancy of so large a proportion of his subjects was purely conscientious, and wholly innocuous, gave his Royal assent to several acts, by which the profession and exercise of the Catholic religion has become legal, and no longer criminal in such, as shall have made the declaration, and taken the new oath prescribed by these relaxing statutes; and by which those, who shall have so declared and sworn, are eased of most of the pains, penalties and disabilities operating upon their former recusancy.

1808.

The nature of the practical impediments and obstacles, which operate at this hour against the total emancipation of the Irish Catholic, must be sifted to the bottom, before they can be remedied or removed. What frequently raises, generally exasperates, and always prolongs controversies, political and religious, is a pre-determined mutual reluctance to look impartially into the adverse case. This enquiry leads to the consideration of the law, as it stood before the Reformation, as it was altered at the Reformation, and as it stands at the present hour. It would be redundant to prove, that whenever the state allows a civil establishment to a particular religion, the supremacy or headship of that civil establishment is essentially vested in the supreme civil magistrate. In our constitution that paramount transcendancy of power was then, as it still is vested in the Parlia-

Nature of  
the obsta-  
cles to Ca-  
tholic eman-  
cipation.

1808.

ment, but the practical executive headship of that civil establishment is delegated to the King. Great and mischievous errors have originated from misguided zeal or interested craft, in confounding the boundaries and action of the *temporal* and *spiritual* powers. Before the Reformation, a considerable part of the *civil* establishment granted by the state to the Catholic religion was conceded by Parliament or the nation (for the King could not do it) to the Roman Pontiff, whom our ancestors often called by super-excellence *the Apostle* \*.

\* See what has been before said upon this subject, p. 100, &c. Vol. II. *Vide also Church and State*, 4to. G. G. J. Robinson's, London, 1796, p. 406, and *alibi*: wherein this whole subject is fully investigated by the author. From the year 1521, in which King Henry wrote his book in defence of the Pope's supremacy, "*he continued*, says Parsons (in his answer to Coke, p. 345.), *so devout and obedient to the see of Rome, as no King in Christendom more.*" But after he had taken his resolution of marrying Anne Bulleyn, and found insurmountable difficulties from the see of Rome in procuring a divorce from his lawful wife Queen Catharine of Arragon, many reasons and inducements may be conceived, which operated the change in his opinion and conduct towards that see. Of him it was said, that he never spared man in his rage, nor woman in his lust. The change however was gradual; his suit for the divorce was opened in the month of April 1529, when his Majesty and the Queen were cited and personally appeared in the church of the Black Friars in London before Cardinals Wolsey and Campegio, the deputed legates by Pope Clement VII to hear and judge that matter. Even three years after this suit had been pending, and the violent temper of Henry must have been greatly thwarted by delay, and incensed by disappointment, yet he still remained firm to his old belief in the primacy of spiritual dignity and jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome, as appears by an act passed in the 23d year of his reign, A. D.



1808.

Some part of it was recalled before, and the rest after the Reformation, which may be properly said to have commenced in the year 1533, when Henry VIII. married Anne Bulleyn, after having carried on for four years a fruitless suit for a divorce at the Court of Rome, and procured an act of Parliament to be passed, for restraining and prohibiting all appeals to Rome.

This legislative act of the paramount and supreme civil magistrate, cut off (as far as the civil or temporal could interfere with the spiritual

Separation of England from the See of Rome.

1532, for restraining the payment of *annates* to the Bishop of Rome. In the preamble of that act, there is a heavy complaint against the grievance of paying these *annates*, or first fruits, for expediting the bulls of confirmation to archbishops and bishops upon their promotions to their sees; inasmuch, as that they had exceeded 160,000 from the second year of Henry VII. to that time. These bulls of confirmation were the acts, or instruments, by which in Catholic times the spiritual or real episcopal jurisdiction was conferred upon the bishop elect by the supreme head of the Christian hierarchy. The payment of these *annates* was a matter extrinsic to the act collating the spiritual jurisdiction, and clearly within the competence of the legislature (but not of the King) to regulate. That very act, however, which rendered the payment of those *annates* from that time unlawful, proves the pre-existing usage of the confirmation of the bishops by the pope, by providing a new mode and rate of paying for their confirmation; it being thereby enacted, "That every spiritual person of this realm hereafter to be named, presented, or promoted to any archbishopric, or bishopric of this realm, shall and may lawfully pay for the writing, and obtaining of his or their said bulls at the court of Rome, and ensealing his name with lead, to be had without payment of any *annates* or first fruits, or other charge or exaction by him or them to be made, yielden, or paid for the same five pounds sterling, &c. upon the net yearly revenue of the bishopric."

1808.

power) all communication with or dependance of England upon the See of Rome. The Catholics of that day held, as the Catholics of this day hold, that the Church of Christ upon earth consists of all true believers congregated as one family under one head, who as the universal Bishop is the Vicar of Christ upon earth, and who alone in that character can confer spiritual jurisdiction upon such, as he thinks fit to constitute governors of the different parts of the dispersed Churches. They hold, as fundamental Church discipline, that such only as draw jurisdiction or mission mediately or immediately from that source, are true Bishops or real Church governors. This distinctive doctrine \*

\* Wishing to avoid controversy upon the necessity of an universal bishop, and of tracing the continued current of that unbroken succession of apostolic pastors from Peter to Pius, the following passages are submitted to the reader, merely to shew, what the common Catholic doctrine upon this point was for the two first centuries after the reformation; and to prove, that if the modern Catholics answered the request, call or expectation of several of their Protestant brethren, by renouncing, resisting, or preventing their dependance upon the see of Rome for spiritual jurisdiction, they would become a different set of Christians from their ancestors, who suffered for their spiritual submission to that authority. The Irish government experimentally knows what the Irish Catholics holding communion with and acknowledging *spiritual* submission to the see of Rome have been, and are. They know not what they would be, were they to renounce that dependance. Parsons, who lived near the beginning of the reformation, spoke of the Catholics of his day; and the great Bossuet, who lived about a century after him, held similar language. "As to the spiritual jurisdiction of bishops, Parsons said in the days of James I. (answer to Coke, 297), it was common Catholic doctrine at that time, as it is now, that episcopal jurisdic-

of Church government emphatically distinguishes his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects from those of the Established Church. The fundamental

1803.

tion cannot be given by any, but by him, that hath it eminently, and with superiority in himself, which must be by ordination, commission and descent from the apostles, to whom it was given *in capite*, as before we have declared, to descend down by succession; and the said ordination and imposition of hands to the world's end, upon bishops, prelates and pastors by lawful subordination the one unto the other." And the great bishop of Meaux treating of the spiritual succession of apostolical pastors or church governors, spoke in this elevated style. "Thus the Catholic church speaks to her children; ye are a people, a state, a society; but Jesus Christ, who is your King, holds nothing from you; his authority is of a higher origin. You have no greater right to say, who shall be his ministers, than you have to appoint him to be your Sovereign. Thus your pastors, who are his ministers, derive their title from the same source, that Christ himself does; and it is essential, that they should be placed over you by an order of his appointment. The kingdom of Christ is not of this world, nor can any adequate comparison be made between his kingdom and the kingdom of the earth. In a word, nature affords us nothing, that bears a conformity with the spiritual kingdom of Christ; nor have you any other right, than that, which you find in the laws and customs immemorial of this society. Now these are from the times of the apostles down to the present times: that the pastors already constituted should constitute others. Choose ye, says the apostle, and we shall appoint. It was Titus's business to appoint the pastors of Crete, and it was from Paul appointed by Jesus Christ, that he received his power." For many centuries, including the whole period of time during which Ireland has been connected with and dependent upon England, the primacy of the Roman Catholic Church has been universally acknowledged throughout all the dispersed churches of that communion to have *de facto* resided in, and to have been exclusively exercised by the popes or bishops of Rome.



1808.

point of difference is, whether the Christian hierarchy require an universal and supreme head, who alone confers *spiritual jurisdiction or mission* on all the Bishops or governors of the dispersed churches; or whether it consist of as many sets of national clergy and church governors independent of any universal Primate or head, as the temporal sovereigns of different states shall in their discretion regulate and appoint. Now for the first time since the reformation, are his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects called upon or invited, or expected to retract, renounce, qualify or alter their belief and practice upon this fundamental point of church government: i. e. to differ from their ancestors upon the necessity of a centre of unity and a primacy of dignity and jurisdiction in the church of Christ. The consideration of their submitting in 1811 to what they and their ancestors have resisted since 1583, is the offer or prospect of being admitted to an equal participation of the civil constitution of their country with the rest of their fellow subjects; and from which it is to be remarked, they are shut out on account of that very resistance. The peculiar urgency for their doing so at this moment, is founded upon the Emperor Napoleon's success in having subdued the greater part of the continent to his power, and his having seized as Lord paramount Imperial the glebe or temporalities of the Bishop of Rome.

Lord Grenville particularly committed in this question.

As Lord Grenville brought the proposal of the Royal *Veto* before Parliament in the most special and detailed manner of any of those, who men-

1808.

tioned it, as he was deeply concerned in the original intrigue of 1799, and consequently entitled to his full share in the credit of the issue of it; and a complete knowledge of its features, qualities and powers, and as by his letter to Lord Fingal he defends, justifies and sanctions what he ever said and did upon that subject; no part of his speech to the House of Lords can be unimportant to Ireland. Considering moreover the currency, which that noble Lord's political and personal consequence gives to all his opinions, it is of indispensable necessity to Catholic Ireland, that it should at least be fairly understood; and as far, as it hath been reported, it ought not to pass without some comment and strong observation.

His Lordship's speech on the 27th of May 1808 contains such an unusual contrast of truth and falsehood, that one wishes to lay the consequent incoherencies to the inaccuracy of the reporter. As however in the multitude of publications made upon that speech and its corresponding letter, the correctness of the one, or the genuineness of the other have not been questioned, they must both be taken as sent forth into public. His Lordship truly remarks, *that the existence of a spiritual supremacy is merely an article of speculative belief, and the belief of the Catholics on that point ought not to be urged in favor of their claims.* The noble Lord urged on that occasion a further truth of high importance, and probably quite new to most of his hearers. *Your Lordships do not acknowledge a spiritual supremacy in the King, or, if*

Revision of  
Lord Gren-  
ville's  
speech.

1605.

*I may be allowed the expression, do not acknowledge the King to be Pope of the Established Church. It is imperiously necessary to warn every man, more especially, every member of the legislature of the gross ignorance, misrepresentation and falsehood, that follow those truths. That species of supremacy was indeed claimed by the rashness of Henry VIII. who was a man; whom it was dangerous to resist, even in his most wanton caprices. Subsequently however, wiser men formed those opinions, which are at present the basis of our church establishment, and of which that claim to supremacy forms no part. No one of our princes, therefore, has ever claimed that supremacy except Henry VIII.\* All this is notoriously untrue, and contradicted by history and the most solemn records of the nation. The only act of reformation (as it is called), by which Henry VIII. withdrew and differed from the Catholic Church was the denial of the necessity of a centre of Catholic unity and of*

• This assertion of Lord Grenville is pointedly contradicted by very high authority: by that Monarch, the fourth from King Henry in succession, who probably considered more deeply, than any of his predecessors or successors the nature of the supremacy, which the law vests in the King over the Protestant Establishment. *The oath of supremacy, said his Majesty, was devised for putting a difference between Papists and them of our profession. For in King Henry the Eighth's time was the oath of supremacy first made: by him were Thomas Moore and Rossensis put to death, partly for refusing of it: from his time until now have all the princes of this land professing this religion, successively in effect maintained the same.*

King James's Works. Apology for the Oath, p. 263.



13.  
 papal supremacy, which his Majesty had in the year 1521 so warmly defended against Luther, as to have thereby procured the title of *Defender of the Faith*: still assumed as an honorable title by our Sovereigns. Under Henry was the extinguishment of the papal supremacy effected by act of Parliament; by the like authority was framed and imposed upon all his subjects that oath of supremacy, by which the juror renounces and disclaims the spiritual jurisdiction and authority of the Roman Pontiff, and by a very solemn act (25 Hen. VIII. c. 20.) that new form and system of national church government was introduced; which is the law to this hour: so that every innovation, which King Henry (the first reformer) introduced into the then national or established religion is now the obligatory law of the land, and the directory for modelling and perpetuating the government of the Established Church. On the other hand, all the doctrines, upon which the Roman Catholics differ from the Protestants of the Established Church, were introduced after his death by his son and daughter Edward VI. and Elizabeth \*. Who then

\* In the year 1536, i. e. 23 Hen. VIII. the final act was passed for *extinguishing the authority of the Bishop of Rome*. By this it was enacted, that if any person should extol the authority of the Bishop of Rome, he should incur the penalty of a *præmunire*: that every officer, both ecclesiastical and lay, should be sworn to renounce the said bishop and his authority, and resist it to the utmost of his power; and that any oath formerly taken in maintenance of the said bishop or his authority should be reputed void. And finally, that the refusal of the said oath should be judged high treason. So little did that despotic Monarch mean to alter his own or the religious faith of the nation, beyond the

1808.

were those wiser men, and what were their opinions, which are at present the basis of the present church establishment, and of which that claim to supremacy forms no part? The supremacy of Geo. III. over the church of England, is precisely the same as that which was vested by Parliament in Henry VIIIth. and it is actually vested in his present Majesty, by virtue of the acts passed under Henry the VIIIth. It becomes then peculiarly harsh to punish Catholics for not admitting that spiritual supremacy in the King, which the Protestants themselves do not admit. Now if these acts mean no more, than to import, that the King is the head of the *civil* establishment of the religion of the state, that proposition, it is confidently assumed, no Catholic would refuse to admit, and Lord Grenville brings the matter fairly to that question. *The objection of foreign supremacy, must mean temporal supremacy, or else it is not fairly applied. To secure the temporal supremacy* point, which raised the obstacle to his passion for Anne Bulleyn: that in 1539, after he had directed his Parliament to invest him with the spoils and revenues of all the abbeys, monasteries, religious houses and communities throughout the kingdom, he forced them also to pass the famous act, then called *The Whip with Six Strings*, by which they ordered the belief of transubstantiation, communion under one kind, private mass, auricular confession, the celibacy of priests, and voluntary vows of perpetual chastity, to be maintained under pain of death: and at last, in 1543, every innovation made in religion from the year 1540, every doctrine preached and maintained contrary to the King's instructions, speaking irreverently of the sacrament of the altar, and even reading the bible in the vulgar tongue, were made crimes punishable with death.

1808.

of the government for all temporal purposes, is all that can be desired, and this I conceive, might be effected without interfering with any speculative belief of the Catholics with respect to any spiritual supremacy of the Pope. His Lordship could not on that or on any other occasion be supposed to have forgotten, that the body of Irish Catholics had generally in compliance with the acts of initiation declared on their oaths, that they did not believe, that the Pope of Rome, or any other foreign Prince, prelate, state, or potentate, hath or ought to have any *temporal or civil* jurisdiction, power, superiority, or pre-eminence, directly or indirectly, within this realm; and had solemnly in the presence of God, and of his only son Jesus Christ their redeemer, professed, testified, and declared, that they made that declaration; and every part thereof, in the plain and ordinary sense of the words of that oath, without any evasion, &c. What further security can be taken of human beings, for keeping up the *temporal* supremacy of the government. His Lordship's candor on this occasion has however brought him to the important avowal, that though the Catholics differ from the Protestants by their submission to the *spiritual* power of the Pope, yet it would be absurd to suppose, that they could not be *equally good subjects and eqnally disposed to defend their country with their Protestant fellow-subjects*. The present oath of supremacy appears to have been framed with a captious desire to exclude Catholics. An oath might, I conceive, be framed



1808.

*freed from that captiousness, acknowledging the temporal supremacy.*

The true  
intendiment  
of the oath  
of supremacy.

Why should Lord Grenville or any other man wish or expect, that the Roman Catholic subjects of his Majesty should now retract, renounce, declare or accede to any thing contrary to their former belief or conduct, that affects the question of Supremacy, whilst to the disgrace of a christian legislature, a *captious* oath is kept on foot to ensnare, proscribe and punish millions of his Majesty's liege subjects? *What then can be meant by his Lordship's CHECKS AND SUITABLE ARRANGEMENTS?* The effects of this *captious* oath have been long seen, sorely felt and publicly deplored. The Author in 1796 (in his Church and State) thus spoke upon the subject, and is gratified, that his opinions have been so strongly confirmed by such high authority. "When the present oath of supremacy is brought under the unbiassed and stern judgment of an upright conscience standing at the awful tribunal of the Deity, I feel not too bold in defying the most liberal, ingenious and elaborate interpreter of it, to pronounce, that by the obvious, plain and necessary import of the words, the juror does not deny the possibility of any spiritual authority or *power of the Keys*, (to which British Christians owe submission) existing either in the Pope, Councils, or elsewhere out of the civil jurisdiction of the Parliament of Great Britain. I will admit, that a Protestant may lawfully take such an oath, who professes to deny the primacy of St. Peter; but not a Roman Catholic, who professes to believe and hold

it as a necessary term of communion with the Catholic Church. The imposers of that oath of supremacy look upon the subscription to it, as an actual renunciation of the Roman Catholic faith, and that the plain and necessary meaning of the words of it imports an absolute renunciation of a religious tenet, which is holden by the Roman Catholic church as an essential term of communion with her. In saying this, I must also add, that if the oath of supremacy were so worded, as to be perfectly consonant with the laws, which establish the supremacy of the Sovereign, few persons either Roman Catholic or others would be under any conscientious obligation of refusing it. When therefore in my *Jura Anglorum* (p. 293.) I said, that perhaps few Roman Catholics would refuse to take the oath of supremacy, in the true constitutional sense of its actual existence, were it unequivocally to express, that the King is the supreme head of the CIVIL establishment of the Church of England; I meant, as I still do, to shew, that the deviation in the words, terms and intent of the oath, from the words, spirit and effects of the laws rendered it unlawful for a Roman Catholic to take it. I then conceived (as I still do) no vain hope, that Parliament would see and correct so important a defect, which operates the most severe cruelty and hardship upon millions of well disposed able and loyal British subjects." Lord Grenville's direct answer to this is explicitly reported. *The King shall have a negative in the nomination of those of the Catholic Clergy, who are allowed to exercise episcopal juris-*

1868.

diction, and no one shall act in that dignity without the approbation of the Crown. The weakest of drivellers must perceive, that a *Royal Negative* is an actual influence of the Crown in the nomination of Catholic Bishops.

Difference  
between the  
spiritual  
and tempo-  
ral power.

The allowance to exercise *episcopal jurisdiction* (which is a merely spiritual function, and therefore of itself incapable of producing a civil effect) is here introduced by Lord Grenville, as proceeding from the *Civil Magistrate*, who assumes the prohibitory right of prevention against any one's acting in that dignity, without the approbation of the Crown. The civil magistrate is here introduced actually interfering with the spiritual power, and exercising a paramount authority over it. A right of approbation and restriction from acting, until approbation be given, argues a supereminent authority over the agent. Each of these powers is supreme and independent: they cannot therefore clash or interfere with each other: their several objects are essentially different. Bishop Warburton has truly said of the *Civil Magistrate*: *Whatever refers to the body is his jurisdiction: whatever to the soul is not.\** The King's interference with the spiritual power of the Pope,† in *conferring mission* or grant-

\* *Vide hoc fusius.* Church and State, 345.

† Lord Grenville has with truth and candour after a lapse of two centuries, very appropriately repeated the substance of what the Protestant Primate Bramhall said within less than a century of the reforming statutes, which extinguished the papal authority over the Church of England, and new modelled the form of her Church Government, which exists to this day. "Neither



1808.  


ing spiritual jurisdiction to the individual, whom his Holiness thinks fit to constitute a Church Governor over a particular diocese is a direct encroachment of the civil on the spiritual power, which being in its nature unjust, must produce mischief. If the Royal approbation necessarily precede, accompany or follow the papal appointment, the Bishop of Rome must act under the controul of, and consequently depend upon the approving power: which cannot be, since the collation of mission or spiritual jurisdiction is an act purely spiritual, and therefore not within the competency of the civil magistrate or temporal power to affect. The civil and spiritual powers are absolute, supreme, independent and uncontrollable in their nature. By no possible supposition can they act upon or interfere with each other: because each acts only upon its

King Henry VIIIth. nor any of his legislators, did ever endeavour to deprive the Bishop of Rome of the power of the Keys, or any part thereof; either the Key of *order*, or the Key of *jurisdiction*. I mean jurisdiction purely spiritual, which hath place only in the inner court of conscience, and over such persons, as submit willingly; you see the power is political, the sword is political, all is political. Our kings leave the power of the Keys and jurisdiction purely spiritual to those, to whom Christ hath left it. No difference between Roman Catholics and ourselves about the Papacy, but only about the extent of papal power. Our ancestors cast out external coercive jurisdiction; the same do we. They did not take away from the Pope the power of the Keys, or jurisdiction purely spiritual; no more do we. Whatsoever power our laws did divest the Pope of, they invested the King with it; but they never invested the King with any spiritual power or jurisdiction, witness the injunction of Queen Elizabeth, the Articles of the Church, King James, our Statutes, &c."

1808. separate object. No mutual concession or fœderative alliance can exist between the real *spiritual and temporal* powers. The sovereignty or independence of each power being essential to its nature must be *absolute*. Mutual concessions then between Church and State are impossible: for mutual concession imports the capacity not only of granting, but of receiving and holding in both parties. Now the Church\* cannot hold power over *temporal* things; nor the State over *spiritual* things. In the application of the Royal *Veto*, the whole question is about the King's interference with, influence on, controul over, or right and power of resistance to the Bishop of Rome in the exercise of his purely *spiritual* power. For in his episcopal or pontifical character, he can have no other than spiritual power over any of his Majesty's Irish subjects, and such of them, as submit to that spiritual power, have on their oaths disclaimed submission to any other power or authority over them. How then can Lord Grenvill (or any man) BE CONVINCED, *that the good*

\* The word *Church* is here taken in its largest import, to mean the great family or kingdom of Christ; the entry into which is by Christian Baptism. This great spiritual congregation knows no geographical or national divisions. It is that kingdom, which Christ said was not of this world, though the subjects or members of it live in this world. The word *Church* is sometimes narrowed in its import, when it is made to exclude its obstinate and recreant children, who voluntarily quit it, and those, who may be expelled or excommunicated. It frequently expresses the state or order of the clergy: and often imports certain national and geographical divisions of Christians, as parts of the one and indivisible Church of Christ.

sense of the Catholics would induce them to see the propriety of giving way upon this point. It evidently follows, that the King's negative interference with the Pope's conferring mission or spiritual jurisdiction upon an Irish Prelate either for a limited number of times or indefinitely must cause a clashing of the two powers: positive nomination, presentation or election intended to be obligatory upon the Primate of Christianity, in confirming the nominee, presentee or elected, would be a still more violent encroachment on the spiritual power. Certain it is, that the Royal countenance or recommendation might become a personal inducement, (it could impose no duty or obligation) to the Bishop of Rome to exercise his spiritual power, or confer the postulated mission upon a given individual. Hence in fact arises the only possible negotiation, that could be set on foot between the body of Irish Catholics, his Majesty, (or rather his Ministers) and the Bishop of Rome. That could only turn upon supplication. It could not prevent the Christian Primate's absolute and irresponsible right of rejection, and uncontrollable appointment. Here then conscience and discretion are called into action.

The reports of the parliamentary debates upon the Catholic Question, had no sooner reached Ireland, than the extraordinary and till then unheard of proposition moving from the Catholic body, for admitting a Royal interference of some sort with the appointment of Catholic Bishops, raised a general stupor and indignation throughout the coun-

1808.

Inexpediency of the Royal Veto.



1608.

try. Clergy and laity took the alarm. The retrospective view of a national religion preserved with a virtuous hierarchy without any *civil* establishment or state interference through three centuries of oppression and persecution, produced alarm in every reflecting mind. The proposed innovation of introducing *Royal and Protestant* connection, influence and power into the constitution and perpetuation of a Catholic Hierarchy, to the utter exclusion of which the Irish Catholics ascribed that almost miraculous preservation, threw the public mind into unusual agitation. The laity abhorred the idea of the ministers of their religion becoming open to Court influence and intrigue,\* and shuddered at the

\* The circulation of Mr. Burke's doctrines upon the fatal consequences of such unnatural connection, tended greatly to excite the popular abhorrence of the Veto. In his letter to the late Dr. Hussey, the Catholic Bishop of Waterford, he said, "If you (the Catholic Bishops,) have not wisdom enough to make common cause, they will cut you off one by one. I am sure, that the constant meddling of your Bishops and Clergy with the Castle, and the Castle with them, will infallibly set them ill with their own body. All the weight, which the Clergy have hitherto had to keep the people quiet will be wholly lost, if this once should happen. At best you will have a marked schism, and more than one kind, and *I am greatly mistaken if this is not intended, and diligently and systematically pursued.* Your enemies are embodied. What becomes of you, if you are only individuals?" The continuation of that passage in Mr. Burke, which in a former note (p. 666) Sir John Cox Hippenly quoted is still more relevant and pointed. "And if the superior power were always in a disposition to act conscientiously in this matter for those, with whom that power is at variance, has it the capacity and means of doing this? How can the Lord Lieutenant (and we may say *A FORTIORI*, how can the King) form the least idea

prospect of prostituting the sacred function of that apostolic mission and jurisdiction, to which they had hitherto submitted as of divine institution, to its revilers, persecutors and sworn enemies. At the same time the whole Catholic clergy of Ireland, were driven by a common electric impulse into more than ordinary reflection upon the stupendous efficacy of that evangelical purity and independence, by which the spiritual pastors had so long and under such temptations and difficulties preserved their flocks in the religion of their christian ancestors.

108.

The general voice of the people crying out against religious reform, was an awful warning to the clergy: and although the insidious concordat of 1799, were still clothed in darkness, the Irish Catholic Prelates met in regular national synod on the 14th and 15th of September 1808, in Dublin, and came to the following resolutions:

Vo: populi  
and synodical  
cal esolu-  
tion.

“ It is the decided opinion of the Roman Catholic Prelates of Ireland, that it is inexpedient to introduce any alteration in the canonical mode hitherto observed in the nomination of the Irish of their merits; so as to discern, which of the Popish Clergy is fit to be made a Bishop? It cannot be; the idea is ridiculous. He will hand them over to Lords Lieutenants Governors of Counties, Justices of Peace, and other persons, who, for the purpose of vexing and turning to derision this miserable people, will pick out the worst and most obnoxious they can find amongst the clergy, to sit over the rest. Informers, talebearers, perverse and obstinate men, flatterers, who turn their back upon their flocks to court the Protestant gentlemen of the country, will be the objects of preferment.”

183.

“ Roman Catholic Bishops, which mode long experience has proved to be unexceptionable, wise, and salutary.

“ That the Roman Catholic Prelates pledge themselves to adhere to the rules, by which they have been hitherto uniformly guided ; namely to recommend to his Holiness only such persons as are of unimpeachable loyalty, and peaceable conduct.” These synodical resolutions against the *Veto*, were signed by twenty-three Prelates : three only (they were three of those, who had signed the resolutions of 1799) dissented : one of whom is since dead.

Attempts  
to counter-  
act the syn-  
odical re-  
solutions.

Some indirect efforts were made in two counties to counteract the effects of the synodical resolutions, and to favour or support the *Veto*, by calling a County Meeting for voting an address of thanks to Lord Fingal for his conduct in managing the petition. It was openly avowed, that the intent of such address was to procure an authentic approval of all, that had been done in England with reference to the *Veto*. In Kilkenny, within some few weeks after the publication of the synodical resolutions against the *Veto*, the address was signed by 50 persons, 46 of whom soon after retracted their signatures ; and a counter \* address to thank the

\* What the popular feeling upon the *Veto* was, will best appear by the words of the Kilkenny Address

“ We the Catholic inhabitants of the County and City of Kilkenny, deem it expedient in duty and in gratitude, to make you the sincere offer of our thanks, which we accompany with the feelings of our hearts, no less than with the assent of our judg-



Prelates for their resolutions was subscribed by 40,000 names. Something of a more indirect attempt to keep the question of *Veto* alive was made in the County of Louth, which occasioned a

1808.

ments. In your temperate, yet firm disapproval of any innovation in the mode of perpetuating that divine hierarchy (which covered with the glories won out of a rude and lingering struggle, we look up to as the last undestroyed monument of our faith, and ancient national grandeur). We solemnly recognize the succession of those virtues, by which your sainted predecessors were enobled; and in your steadiness we as solemnly anticipate the unimpaired transmission of these virtues to future times. And we hope, that Catholic Ireland has but one voice and one opinion on this momentous national question."

The Dundalk Resolution thus strongly expresses their obligations to the Synod, for "their solemn, judicious and definitive decision on a question of the most vital importance to the dearest interests of their Holy Religion. An innovation insiduously attempted in our ecclesiastical discipline, which had it been unhappily acceded to, would in our opinion tend to the gradual, but certain subversion, nay even extinction of Catholicity in this portion of the United Kingdom." Their Address of Thanks to the Prelates convened in Synod holds similar language. "Attached from the purest conviction to our faith, and anxious to preserve inviolate the rights and independence of the Catholic Church of Ireland, the last and hitherto unimpaired privilege now remaining to us. We the undersigned Catholic Clergy and Laity of the County of Louth, &c. &c."

The greatest part of Ulster with the single exception of one young man made similar declarations against the *Veto*. In order that the reader may be completely informed of the full effects, which have been produced upon the Catholic body in Ireland, by the originating of this question, he will find in the Appendix No. IV. the solemn address to the Roman Catholic Clergy and Laity of Ireland, and the definitive resolutions passed upon it by the body of the Irish Catholic Prelates in 1810, and also their address to all the Bishops of the Universal Church.

1808.

County Meeting, at which very strong resolutions were signed by more than 5000 persons; in reprobation of the *Veto*, and expressive of their thanks to the Prelates, who had met in synod, for their resolutions against it.

Prison  
Abuses.

The tenacity of Government in resisting the demands and damping the hopes and confidence of the Irish people, was not confined to Catholic objects. Long and grievous had been the sufferings of many state prisoners in Ireland, who had frequently and vainly petitioned the House of Commons for redress. Mr. Sheridan towards the close of the session on their behalf entreated Ministers to take up voluntarily those prison abuses, rather than expose themselves to the humiliation of having redress extorted from them. There then was on their table an annual report from the Inspector General of the Goals in Ireland, which he believed had not been looked into by five members of the House. In April 1805, a similar report had been made, and was printed: since which annual reports had been returned, and not one of them had been ordered to be printed for the use of the members. With difficulty would it hereafter be credited, though now notorious, that above 1700 persons were stowed into the goals in Ireland; and not one in 500, against whom any charge or information had been made upon oath. He then alluded to the conduct of Major Sandys, Prevot-keeper or Governor of the prevot prisons and prison ships. His prisoners were scarcely preserved from starvation, yet he was paid by Government the full allowance

1808.

for 957 prisoners, and several of them were liberally assisted by their friends. He wished to have the different details of these enormities referred to a committee. He then quoted from the Inspector's (Mr. Archer) reports the most enormous abuses in the different country goals, of Carlow, Cavan, Cork, Galway, Mullingar, Longford, Dundalk, Kilmainham, &c. He said, he had not brought forward these charges, till he had convinced himself of the truth of the allegations by enquiries, and authentic reports lately come to his hands. He particularized the inhuman conduct of the before mentioned Doctor Trevor in the particular instances of Mr. Coile, Mr. Tandy, and Mr. Mason; he specified also several acts of atrocity towards females and infants, and the direct murder of two men of the names of Kamusky and Poole \*. He concluded by a motion, which was seconded by General Matthew, and assented to without a division. "That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, praying, that he would be graciously

\* On the inquest upon the body of this man, the Jury found the following verdict. "We find, that the said William Poole came by his death in consequence of a derangement of his intellects, which occasioned him to go naked: and that the want of attention of the comforts, which the prison affords not being administered to him occasioned his death in this state of insanity." When Camusky was dead, the Jury were brought by Dr. Trevor into the room, where his corps lay, and when they were about to examine it, Dr. Trevor prevented them, telling them, all they had to do, was to know that he was dead. Dr. Trevor acted as Coroner, and administered no oath to the Jury.



1808.

pleased to direct, that a special commission should be appointed to enquire into and inspect the condition and government of the state prisons, and such other goals in Ireland as they shall think proper to direct their attention to, and to investigate the treatment of the prisoners therein confined since the year 1798, where ground of complaint shall be preferred; and also to examine into the conduct of those entrusted with the rule and government of the said prisons, and to report thereon." Mr. Perceval would not oppose the motion, though far from acquiescing in Mr. Sheridan's statements. He adverted to the enquiry made during Lord Hardwicke's administration, which was amongst the printed papers laid before that house, which notwithstanding had not thought it necessary to take any step upon it. To remain inexorable to Irish complaint of national grievances against pregnant evidence has ever been a prominent feature of the present, above all former administrations.

Tithes.

So loud was the national clamor against tithes, that ministers were frightened into some attention to the subject. The grand jury resolutions of the Protestant county of Armagh particularly alarmed them. County petitions had come from Queen's County, Tipperary, Kerry, and Clare: and the grand juries of Galway and Kilkenny had framed resolutions nearly as strong, as those of Armagh. The basest artifice was used to stifle the public voice for the moment: and to defeat redress in the end. It appeared by the manly and patriotic speech

of Mr. M. Fitzgerald on this subject in the House of Commons, that the most slanderous calumnies had been given out against the sordid, corrupt, and disloyal motives of the gentlemen, who had convened and attended the meetings, at which those petitions were voted. At their doors were laid all the disturbances in every part of the country. With lavish profusion were those wicked imputations propagated in the government prints and persons of high consideration did not blush to lend their countenance and influence in openly abetting the notorious slander. The hackneyed manœuvres of the Irish government failed in preventing the cry of grievance from piercing the walls of St. Steven's, and Mr. Perceval was intimidated into a promise, that his Majesty's ministers would take the subject into their immediate consideration, with a view of bringing forward some measure for remedying the evil complained of. Under this delusive prospect Mr. Parnell was induced to withdraw his motion for going into a committee upon the state of tithes in Ireland, and Mr. M. Fitzgerald at last consented to leave the measure for the present in the hands of ministers\*.

It long has been a complaint from the Catholics, that by the exercise of undue influence by such

118.  
Cathos  
exclul  
from:  
Bank

\* In the next Session, when Mr. Perceval imagined, that the *antedecimal* fervor had abated, or his own powers of drowning popular clamor had encreased, he coolly informed the house, that the evil was irremediable; he could devise no measure of redress.

156.

Protestants, as had the election of members of corporations, and enjoyed the power of making civil and military appointments, the indulgence intended to be granted to the Catholics by the legislature in 1793, had been rendered nearly a dead letter. No Catholic had been chosen into any corporation; very few had been appointed to any civil employment\*. In many militia regiments not a Catholic commissioned officer was to be found; in others a small proportion of Catholics was appointed, notwithstanding the preponderating excess of qualified persons of that persuasion in the several counties. On the order of the day having been moved for the house of commons to resolve itself into a committee on the bill for renewing the charter of the Bank of Ireland, Lord Grenville stood up to make his promised motion, "That it be an instruction to the committee, on the bill, that they do make distinct provisions for admitting the Catholics to hold and exercise the offices of directors and governors of the Bank of Ireland." Before he entered upon the subject, he first presented a petition from the Catholic merchants and bankers of the city of Dublin, praying, that they might not be excluded from acting as directors and governors of the Bank of Ireland; which petition was ordered to lie on the table. His Lordship then observed, that the house was going to legislate on matters, re-

\* It was commonly felt, that every such appointment, or grant of pension, or other favour to a Catholic, was the reward or encouragement of his exertions and influence in smothering, withholding, or renouncing their claims to emancipation.



1808.  


specting which they were wholly in the dark ; the charter, which they were going to renew, not so much as being before them, nor even the terms, upon which government were prepared to grant the renewal. The charter was to be renewed for above twenty years, and the return to be made to government for that concession, was the loan of one million and a half to government at a higher interest, than government borrowed money at in this country ; and the bank was moreover to manage the public debt of Ireland. The expence of managing that debt, as appeared from official documents, did not amount to 8,000*l.* per annum, so that, for the sum of 8,000*l.* government granted that to the Bank, for which he was confident many private individuals would advance ten times that sum. The bargain was most improvident. But the question, to which he was anxious to call the attention of their Lordships was by no means of the magnitude of the great question of the Catholic claims : nor was it in his mind at all connected with the grounds and reasons, upon which that great question was professed to be opposed. On a reconsideration of these grounds, he might for a moment bring himself to say, that they were just, liberal, and politic, when compared with the reasons, for which the claim he was now going to make in the name of the Catholics, was to be resisted. On the general question it was said, that by granting the higher claims of the Catholics, you would confer upon them a degree of political power, which might be incompatible with the se-

1806.

curity of the constitution in church and state. But by allowing them to act as directors of the Bank, they gave them no degree of political power ; for it was not with the Bank of Ireland as with that of England. The Bank of Ireland had no connection with the government, as the Bank of England had. Besides not only different sects, but men of different religions were admitted as directors of the Bank of England. In Ireland, however, they would exclude those from that distinction, who formed the largest portion of the monied interest, and who possessed the greatest share of the commercial capital of Ireland. They thus deprived them of the means of managing their own property, than which nothing could be more unreasonable ; and so far discouraged them from entrusting their property to the Irish funds, than which nothing could be more unwise and impolitic. There was no point of view, under which it was possible to consider such an exclusion, in which it must not appear to every unprejudiced mind, illiberal, unjust, ungrateful, and impolitic. These he trusted would be sufficiently powerful motives with their Lordships to induce them to concur in the motion. Lord Harrowby thought this as unfavourable a moment for the present claim, as for the larger claim, which Parliament had already rejected. Lord Hawkesbury opposed the motion, on the grounds he had often rested his resistance to any further Catholic concessions ; he should ever make his stand on the law, as it stood at the Union. The admission to the officers of the Bank tended to give precisely

1808.

that influence and power, which it was the desire and the determination of Parliament to prevent and counteract. Lords Lauderdale and Stanhope supported Lord Grenville's motion, and several of the ministerial members opposed it, merely upon their avowed, and pledged ground of never making any ulterior concession to the Catholics. Such being the *pivot*, on which the Richmond administration turns. Lord Westmoreland rejected the motion, on the general grounds, that no further concessions whatever should, under the present circumstances, be granted to the Catholics; and he was surprized to see such motions so often brought forward, by those who, when they were themselves in power, employed every exertion to deprecate and prevent such discussions. *They* were the real authors of any ill consequences, which might arise from a refusal to accede to such claims. Lord Redesdale could not but repeat his former objections to such claims. The more you were ready to grant them, the more power and pretensions you gave to the Catholics to come forward with fresh claims, and perhaps to insist upon them. His Lordship then launched out into a general invective against the Catholics, and particularly the priests; all irrelevant to the question before the house.

This brought up the Marquis of Buckingham in support of his brother's motion, who after having firmly denied the scandalous imputations of Lord Redesdale, observed, it was strange, that the dangers now dwelt upon entered not the minds of the Protestants of Ireland, when the institution of the

Speech of  
the Marquis  
of Bucking-  
hamshire in  
favour of  
the Catho-  
lics.



1808.

Bank of that country was first established in 1782. So far indeed to the contrary, that at a meeting of the subscribers, who then proposed to purchase the charter from government, the exclusion of the Catholics was carried only by a single dissentient voice. Let their Lordships now recollect, that in 1782, the bills had not yet passed, which have since granted so many concessions to the Catholics. Let them recollect, that at that period not the fear, but the actual danger of immediate invasion hung upon the coast of Ireland. That the army of Ireland was then without pay; the navy without provisions; and the treasury without money. Above all, let them recollect, that under those exigent circumstances, it was an Irish Catholic (Mr. Goold, of Cork), who cheerfully stood forward, and advanced the money to victual the fleet and pay the army, though the government of Ireland were bankrupt at the moment. He could adduce a hundred more instances, were it necessary, of a similar disposition to aid government every way, on the part of those, towards whom they were now disposed to act with such injustice and ingratitude. Even then, when it was proposed to introduce the clause to exclude the Catholics, it was done with reluctance by the then Chancellor, and the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in Ireland; but assented to by no one *with so much pain and reluctance\* as by himself*. He knew the

\* Can there be so speaking a lesson to the Irish people upon the corruption of the system, as the open avowal of a man, whose rank, fortune, and connections supereminently entitled him to so

loyalty and patriotism of the Irish Catholics. He knew their allegiance was unshakeable under every sort of deprivation and oppression. He also knew their physical strength, and commercial opulence. Every one knew, that they composed in a great measure the army and navy of the Empire; and that they also contributed largely to its financial resources. Yet, with the consciousness of all these means, their conduct was highly exemplary as loyal and submissive subjects; and sure he was they never would evince any other sentiment. On the division 63 voted for the motion—101 against it.

The Dublin police bill was carried by Sir Arthur Wellesley the Irish secretary through the house of commons with a very high hand against the steady opposition of the two members for Dublin and almost every Irish member (even Mr. J. C. Beresford), who ever took an active part in Irish concerns. It was opposed by Mr. Ponsonby, not only upon the grounds of injustice in depriving the city of her chartered rights, but also of a wanton addition to the public burthens for the corrupt extension of patronage. “It entailed, said he, an expence of 40,000*l.* annually, and created 18 new offices at 500*l.* salary for each.” Mr. Grattan

Dublin police bill.

much Irish confidence, that when in power he assented to the identical measure of injustice, which, when out of power he found it his duty to oppose and deprecate. A provincial governor of old assented to the unjust clamour of the Hebrews with *pain and reluctance*; and washed his hands, when he had done the deed.

1808.

(as well as his colleague Mr. Shaw), highly commended the exemplary conduct and pacific behaviour of the city of Dublin. Sir A. Wellesley attributed the tranquillity and diminished calendar of the city of Dublin to the large army of 7000 men stationed there; in every street of which there was a barrack or a fort. Mr. Grattan amongst other objections to the measure observed, that it invaded the independence of the Irish bar, and gave government a new raised corps of dangerous dependents. It would generate a breed of little lawyers with views fixed on little interests. No respectable or able man would forego the benefits of his professional practice for 500*l.* per annum. It would call to office bad lawyers, and bad justices.

Irish supplies.

When Mr. Foster proposed the Irish supplies for the year 1808, amounting to 9,767,425*l.* which was to be answered by new impositions and regulations in the duties on spirits, Sir John Newport observed, that the balances in the collector's hands had increased 60,000*l.* in the last year, which Mr. Foster admitted, but held out prospects of great reductions for the next year. A variety of bills of fiscal regulation, some for making provisions for building churches, chapels, and glebe houses, and enforcing the residence of spiritual persons on their livings, and for rendering more effectual the volunteering from the militia into the line were passed into laws. On the 8th of July the Parliament was prorogued with a speech from the throne, studiously avoiding even remote reference to the Irish, as a people despised and rejected.



Many and unequivocal proofs bespoke the determination of the Richmond administration to rivet Catholic Ireland in degradation and despondency. The legislative rejection of their petition had been exacerbated by the restoration of Mr. Jacob to the magistracy, the appointment of Mr. Giffard to a more valuable situation than that, from which he had been displaced, the admission of Dr. Duigenan to the privy council, and the curtailed grant to Maynooth college. A fostering countenance was given to the Orangemen, that tended rather to foment and encourage, than to put down or punish their atrocities. On the evening of the 23d of June 1808, a considerable number of men, women, and children, were assembled round a bonfire at Corinshiga, within one mile and a half of the town of Newry. They had a garland, and were amusing themselves, some dancing, others sitting at the fire, perfectly unapprehensive of danger, when in the midst of their mirth, eighteen yeomen, fully armed and accoutred, approached the place, where they were drawn up by their serjeant, who gave them the word of command to "present and fire," which they did several times, levelling at the crowd. One of the magistrates of the town of Newry, upon receiving information of the fact, procured a notice to be advertized of a reward for the apprehension of the offenders\*.

1808.

The Richmond administration countenance Orange outrages.

\* The following is the copy of that advertisement, and of Mr. Trail's the under secretary's answer. "Whereas on Thursday the 23d June instant, at Corinshiga adjoining this town, a number of men, armed with muskets and bayonets, in viola-

1803.

and at his suggestion, a communication was made to the Duke of Richmond, signed by a consider-

tion of law, and of every principle of humanity, did make an assault upon an unarmed and unoffending assembly of men, women and children, occupied in an innocent and usual recreation, and did fire upon said persons, by which one young man was killed, others severely wounded, and all put into great terror of their lives. And whereas one of the persons concerned in said outrage, was apprehended thereon and secured in an adjoining house, from which he was afterwards rescued by others of the said armed and lawless men. (Now we, the undersigned magistrates of the town and neighbourhood of Newry, holding in just-  
abhorrence the above outrage upon the peace of society, and desirous to bring to condign punishment the persons concerned therein, declare our readiness to receive information, whether private or otherwise, that may justify the apprehensions and lead to the conviction of the offenders. We pledge ourselves, so far as in us lie, to the protection of the peaceable inhabitants of this district. and that we will be ready by the most strenuous exertions to repress every attempt further to disturb the public tranquillity. As there is good reason to conclude, that the above mentioned outrage was committed by persons, some of whom are supposed to be associated in yeomanry corps, we call upon the commanders of all such corps, to whom any suspicion may attach, forthwith, if they have not already done so, to adopt such an examination of the persons under their command as may lead to their exculpation or apprehension. We call upon all his Majesty's liege subjects to assist in the apprehension of the offenders: And should any of the persons concerned therein, (except the person, who actually fired the shot, by which the murder was committed), give information to us, or to any of us, so as to lead to the conviction of any of the persons therein concerned, we promise to apply for his Majesty's most gracious pardon for him, or them. Lastly, we promise to pay 50*l.* sterling in proportion to the sums annexed to our names, to any person or persons, who shall give such information, as will lead to a conviction of any, or

able number of magistrates, enclosing to his Grace a copy of their publication, and suggesting the

1808.

each of the individuals concerned in the outrage aforesaid. Given under our hands at Newry this 30th day of June 1808.

|                 | £. s. d. |                  | £. s. d. |
|-----------------|----------|------------------|----------|
| William Bath    | 22 15 0  | Jonathan Seaver  | 22 15 0  |
| Robert Thompson | 22 15 0  | Patrick O'Hanlon | 22 15 0  |
| William Pollock | 22 15 0  | William Gordon   | 22 15 0  |
| R. Macan        | 22 15 0  | T. Waring        | 22 15 0  |
| John Ogle       | 22 15 0  | William Reid     | 22 15 0  |
| G. Atkinson     | 22 15 0  | William Wright   | 22 15 0  |
| Trevor Corry    | 22 15 0  | Charles Campbell | 22 15 0  |

" We the undersigned, participating in the sentiments of abhorrence and detestation of the transactions above mentioned, promise to pay an additional reward of 50l. sterling, in proportion to the sums annexed to our names, to such person or persons who may prosecute to conviction any of the persons guilty of said murder. Signed by a number of respectable inhabitants, whose joint promise of reward amounted to 330 guineas.

" *Dublin Castle, July 5, 1808.*

" TO THOMAS WARING, ESQ.

" SIR,

" The Lord, Lieutenant having received a letter, signed by you and other magistrates, of the 30th ult. enclosing a copy of the resolutions adopted in consequence of an outrage committed in your neighbourhood, on the 23d of last month, I am commanded by his Grace to express his regret, that so violent and wanton an attack should have been made on persons engaged in innocent recreations, and his expectations, that the exertions of the magistrates will prove effectual for discovering and bringing to justice the persons concerned in it. I am also commanded to acquaint you, that his Grace has ordered the copies of the depo-



1806.

propriety of such measures being immediately adopted by the government, as would appear best calculated to lead to the apprehension of the offenders. Some weeks elapsed and no such measures were adopted. In the mean time one of the persons concerned in the outrage was apprehended, but was allowed to escape by the yeomen, to whose custody Lord Gosford had entrusted him; and a number of the same corps, to which the murderers belonged, so far from shewing any shame or regret at the conduct of their comrades, one day returning from parade, fired a volley (by way of *bravo*) over the house of M'Keown (father of the deceased), the report of which threw his wife into convulsions. Several of the Corinshiga men deposed before two of the Newry magistrates, that they were in constant fear for the safety of their persons and properties, and the persons of their families, and prayed protection in any manner his Majesty's government might please to direct. About the end of July, Mr. Waring, by whose exertions the first steps were taken, wrote again to his Grace, lamenting, that their suggestions had not been acted on, enclosing a copy of the depositions before the Newry magistrates, describing the situation of the unfortunate Catholic peasantry, unarmed and unprotected, while all, or

sitions to be laid before the Attorney General, for his advice and direction on the occasion.

" I have the honor, &c.

" JAMES TRAIL."

nearly all, the lower order of the Protestants were embodied and in constant possession of arms and ammunition.

1808.

Mr. Trail's answer to Mr. Waring of the 1st of August mentioned, "That any steps taken by government would supersede the exertions of the local magistracy, and that government declined issuing a proclamation on the subject." Mr. Waring with commendable firmness and perseverance replied to Mr. Trail, stating, "That the magistrates had expected, that government would have issued a proclamation offering a reward for prosecution, and of pardon to some concerned, for evidence against the others; that if this had not the desired effect, still much good might be expected to arise from the marked disapprobation of government, of an outrage of so dangerous and alarming a tendency; that it might appear not unworthy the consideration of his Grace, whether such a measure might not even then (the 3d of August 1808) be adopted with propriety, and that this procedure so far from having a tendency to supersede the exertions of the local magistracy, could not but prove an efficient aid to them." This last letter was not answered, and so the business dropped. The advertisement, or proclamation of the Newry magistrates, was sent to the *Hue and Cry*, but was not inserted. They took not the least notice of it, or the letter accompanying it. Such was the unblushing tenderness of the Duke of Richmond for a band of 18 Orangemen,

Government declines interfering against Orangemen.

1803.

each glaringly guilty of a most wanton, unprovoked, and systematical murder and wounding of unoffending Catholic subjects, refusing the arm of government in aid of detection and punishment of such notorious offenders, and encouraging the extension of Orange outrage and atrocity by barefaced impunity.

Determined  
Anti-Catholic  
disposition of  
the Richmond  
administration.

The spirit of *No Popery* (the prominent characteristic of the Richmond administration) manifested itself, as hath been shewn in many positive acts of insult and aggravation to the body of Irish Catholics. Not content openly to oppose their admission to any further benefit or concession by base and partial intrigues, they exerted themselves in keeping them out of those situations of credit, influence, or emolument, to which the legislature had given them free admission. Thus had they been kept out of the Bank direction. In the county of Tipperary, ministers exposed the hollowness of their professions ever since their accession to office, that, however irremovable their objections to the abstract question of Catholic emancipation, they were determined to act in all subordinate points upon a system practically conciliatory towards their Catholic fellow subjects. Tipperary is a county of extensive Catholic population and influence; the great landed proprietors of which, as well Protestant as Catholic, had lately recorded their opinions in favour of relaxation from all religious disabilities. Since the year 1793, it had without exception, been the practice to appoint at the assizes, a certain proportion of the Catholic gentlemen of the county upon the grand jury. At



the Spring assizes for 1808, when the ministerial sheriffs had the selection, there was but one Catholic upon the grand jury, and at the next Summer assizes they were totally and insultingly excluded. In every county south of Dublin (save Tipperary, in this instance), the high sheriffs are usually appointed upon the recommendation of the county representatives. For reasons best known to the Irish government, General Mathew and Mr. Prittie (neither of whom usually voted with ministers), were not only overlooked in such appointment, but an individual, to whom the great majority of the freeholders had declared their dislike, and whose principles were notoriously hostile to the feelings of the population, was the man invested with that preference.

1808.

On the other hand at those very assizes, at which no Catholic was put upon the grand jury, a meeting of the Catholics of that opulent and extensive county was convened at Clonmell on the 16th of August 1808, at which they unanimously entered into a string of resolutions, of which the three first demonstrated how much their feelings were wounded by the spirit and conduct of the chief governor and his prime minister Sir A. Wellesley, who rendered himself on this occasion more than commonly active.

Catholic  
meeting in  
Tipperary.**COUNT D'ALTON IN THE CHAIR.**

1st. "That the discussions and enquiries into the actual condition of the Catholics of Ireland,

1808.

resulting from the petitions presented to Parliament on their behalf, appear to have advanced the hope, and improved the prospect, of Catholic freedom. 2d, That accordingly a petition be presented to Parliament early in the ensuing session, praying for the abolition of the penal laws, which aggrieve and degrade the Catholic body. 3d, That 60 Catholic gentlemen of this county, now nominated, be requested to form a board for preparing and conducting such petition, and for acting generally according to the best of their judgment in promoting its success."

Com-  
mis-  
sioners for  
investiga-  
ting prison  
abuses.

In the Autumn of this year, the Irish ministers displayed the most unequivocal symptoms of their old system, by debating, investigating, and smothering the complaints of the oppressed, and securing impunity and reward to the oppressor. One of the happy effects of Mr. Sheridan's having brought the prison abuses before Parliament, was the issuing of a commission under the great seal, appointing as commissioners to make a *diligent, particular, and strict enquiry* into them, the Right Hon. St. George Daly, one of the Justices of his Majesty's Court of King's Bench in Ireland, the Rev. James Verschoyle, Dean of the Cathedral Church of St. Patrick, Dublin, William Disney, George Renny, and John Geale, Esqrs. In consequence of which they advertized in some of the Dublin papers their intention of sitting at the Session-house, Green-street, Dublin, on a certain day, in order to carry the purposes of their commission into effect, of which all persons concerned were to

1808.

take notice. A gentleman, who had been confined some years as a state prisoner, attended at the Session-house the whole of the morning of the announced day of their sitting. No one appeared in the Court, nor was the commission publicly opened. Upon enquiry from a person standing at the door of the grand jury room, he was informed, that the commissioners were sitting within, but he refused taking any note or message from him to them, having received positive orders not to do so. Several such instances occurred, which induced some of the principal state prisoners, who wished to lay before the commissioners the statement of their grievances, to enter a formal protest against private examinations being taken under that commission, alledging upon the face of their protest, that they conceived themselves entitled to a fair, full, patient, and public hearing upon the several allegations, they had to detail collectively and individually before those commissioners of enquiry, without which the end of the commission could not be attained. They therefore respectfully requested in their own and in the names of all others concerned to be admitted, as of right they conceived themselves entitled to a public investigation in open court, and a public official, timely, and authentic notification to that effect. They protested therefore against any private enquiry, and further requested, that their protest, together with the document of their general complaint \*, bearing

\* That document was signed by the same persons, whose names appeared to the protest, viz. James Tandy, John Patien



1808.

date the 26th November 1808, already transmitted to that court, should be inserted in its records, and enrolled in its journals as a part of its proceedings, and be reported accordingly. This reasonable application was not attended to. The parties most aggrieved, refused to give evidence before a close court, and prepared for further application to Parliament.

Improvident conduct of government.

Notwithstanding the Richmond administration had manifested so little anxiety to reconcile and lead the feelings of the Irish people, and had done so many things to inflame their soreness at the rejection of their petition, they most unaccountably neglected that vigilance and circumspection, which are supereminently requisite in a government, that has to soften asperities, alloy inflammation, and prevent explosion. The government papers in the mean while very imprudently agitated the public mind, by circulating rumours of new organizations of the lower classes for political purposes, frequent secret meetings in and about Dublin and Kildare, and a special commission going down to Limerick and Tralee, to be attended by the Chief Baron and Baron George, and all the law officers of the Crown. Certain it is, that the systematic obstinacy of government in stifling enquiry behind the veil of a close commission, added soreness to the wounded feelings of the public about the metro-

James Dixon, Dennis Cassin, Bernard Coile, and 13 others, and the protest was signed by Mr. St. John Mason for himself, and the others who had signed the petition of grievances, and on behalf of all state prisoners and others concerned.

polis. The Lord Lieutenant chose this time for amusing himself with the sports of the field in Ulster, Sir A. Wellesley his Chief Secretary was attending the Board of Enquiry into the Cintra Convention at Chelsea, Sir Charles Saxton was in England on domestic concerns, and the whole weight of government rested upon the military Secretary Sir E. B. Littlehales. The duties of his official department were certainly curtailed by the subtraction of most of the army from Ireland to Spain. On the 21st of December a proclamation had been issued for observing the 8th of the ensuing February, as a day of general fast and humiliation, in order to draw down the divine blessing upon our arms.

On the 19th of January the Parliament was opened by commission. The King's speech turned chiefly on the new alliance with Spain, but had no specific reference to Ireland. It recommended the most speedy augmentation of the regular army, whilst they continued to render the service in it illegal and punishable to 5000,000 of his Majesty's Catholic subjects. The address was moved in the House of Lords by the Earl of Bridgewater, and seconded by Lord Sheffield; and in the Commons by the Hon. Mr. Robinson, and seconded by Mr. Manners Sutton (son to the Archbishop of Canterbury). A warm debate ensued in each house, though no amendment were proposed in either. The campaigns in Spain and Portugal, the Convention of Cintra, his Majesty's disapprobation of it, and the King's angry answer to the city of Lon-

1809.

1809.

don addressers were the general topics of the debates. Beyond these subjects the attention of the Parliament was ingrossed during the greater part of the Session with various proceedings arising out of Colonel Wardle's motion in the Commons for a committee to investigate the conduct of the Duke of York with regard to appointments, promotions, exchanges, new levies, and the general state of the army. The enquiry ended in a division, on which 125 independent members found his Royal Highness guilty, and 231 acquitted him. The Duke, however, having written a letter\* of exculpation

\* Considering the extraordinary influence and power, which by means of military Orange Lodges and otherwise, his Royal Highness possesses over the whole society of Orangemen in Ireland, and even in England, it has been judged proper to republish that singular letter.

*Horse-Guards, Feb. 23, 1809.*

" SIR,

" I have waited with the greatest anxiety until the committee appointed by the House of Commons to inquire into my conduct, as Commander in Chief of his Majesty's army, had closed its examinations, and I now hope, that it will not be deemed improper to address this letter, through you, to the House of Commons.

" I observe with the deepest concern, that in the course of this inquiry, my name has been coupled with transactions the most criminal and disgraceful, and I must ever regret and lament, that a connection should ever have existed, which has thus exposed my character and honor to public animadversion.

" With respect to my alleged offences, connected with the discharge of my official duties, I do, in the most solemn manner, upon my honor, as a Prince, distinctly assert my innocence.



1809.

to the Speaker of the House of Commons, thought proper to give in his resignation of the office of Commander in Chief of his Majesty's forces. Another subject of vital consequence to Ireland, inasmuch, as she is now possessed of about one-sixth share in the existing legislature under the new firm of *Imperial Parliament*, engaged the attention of the House of Commons for a length of time, and was pregnant with illustration of the corruption of the system, as practised by the persons now actually in office, and supported by the sympathies of those, who expect in the turn of events to become employed, and who speculated therefore upon the reversionary profits to arise out of the continuance of parliamentary corruption. It has often appear-

not only by denying all corrupt participation in any of the infamous transactions which have appeared in evidence at the Bar of the House of Commons, or any connivance at their existence, but also the slightest knowledge or suspicion, that they existed at all.

"My consciousness of innocence leads me confidently to hope, that the House of Commons will not, upon such evidence as they have heard, adopt any proceeding prejudicial to my honor and character; but if, on such testimony as has been adduced against me, the House of Commons can think my innocence questionable, I claim of their justice, that I shall not be condemned without trial, or be deprived of the benefit and protection, which is afforded to every British subject, by those sanctions, under which alone evidence is received in the ordinary administration of the law.

"I am, Sir, your's, &c.

"FREDERICK."

"To the Speaker of the House of Commons."

1809.

ed, though never more glaringly than on this occasion, that amidst violent and acrimonious contests upon subaltern and incidental questions, many of the leading characters of all parties, have one common rallying point, one common understanding, one feeling, and one interest in keeping up an unfair representation in the House of Commons, by means of which the people are amused and deceived by the same scenery and decorations, though occasionally worked by different shifters and machinists.

Charge of  
corruption  
against Mr.  
Perceval  
and Lord  
Castlereagh.

Mr. Maddox, who had on many former occasions manifested extraordinary zeal for the practical purity of the British constitution, moved in the House of Commons, that his charge of corruption against two of his Majesty's ministers (Mr. Perceval and Lord Castlereagh), should be heard at the bar of the house, and to state more particularly, than he had formerly done, the nature of that charge, which he had made against them. In doing so, he begged leave, in the first place, to move, "That a resolution entered upon the journals, in December 1779 be read, which stated, that it is the duty of this house to guard with jealousy the purity of Parliament; but considering, that the charge of corruption then brought against Lord Castlereagh, was not carried into effect, this house does not think it necessary to go to any criminatory resolution upon the subject." The charge, which he was now about to bring forward not only implicated that noble Lord, but also Mr. Perceval. After some preliminary observations he stated,

1869.

that at the last general election, a sum of money was paid by Mr. Quintin Dick to Lord Castlereagh, through means of the Hon. Henry Wellesley; and that gentleman (Mr. Dick) was thereby returned member for Cashel, and Mr. Spencer Perceval was also a party to the transaction. Upon occasion of the late investigation as to the Duke of York, Mr. Quintin Dick waited upon Lord Castlereagh, and informed him of the vote he meant to give, and the noble Lord not approving of that mode of voting, suggested to him the propriety of relinquishing his seat in Parliament. He should, without enlarging further, leave this matter to the house, relying, that it would adopt such means to correct and prevent such corrupt practices, as would tend most to maintain its honor and dignity. The Hon. gentleman then sat down, without proposing any motion, leaving it to the determination of the house, what motion ought regularly to be before them. Several members spoke: among others Mr. Perceval addressed the house; I purposely (said he) avoided giving any opinion upon this point, as I was desirous to follow the dictates of the house. The statement made, and the proceedings already adopted, prevent me from looking upon this measure in any other point of view, than an attempt to illustrate the necessity of proceeding to the plan of parliamentary reform, of which Mr. Maddox had given notice. That notice was withdrawn, and this substituted in its room; I consider therefore this as the first step, which he conceives necessary to effect his purpose of reform.



1809.

When I see, that he is laying a precedent for himself and others, I feel it indispensably necessary to take care, that I do not establish that, which would be most dangerous in the case of a charge made before proof, by entering into a detail of what channels and weak means were used, and what individuals were connected with him, who is the object of it, when called upon to disclaim or admit it. I conceive, that this would amount to a system of inquisitorial proceeding, that would be most dangerous to all confidence in private or social life. Sir, we live in a time, in which we see public informations against public men to be the pursuit of a great variety of persons, and we see them rise to honor and esteem through these means. Information too we find is obtained through various ways, collected through private confidence, or by seizure of letters, and these communicated to the public, and made the foundation of public charge and imputation against public men. When I state this, I think it will be deemed more consistent with decency and decorum to abstain from taking any other notice of what the Hon. member has stated as a charge against me, than to plead *not guilty*; protesting as I do my innocence. I therefore make my bow to you and to the house." He then withdrew. Lord Castlereagh expressed his concurrence in the sentiments of his Right Hon. Friend, and followed his example by retiring.

Lord Milton determined against parliament.

Lord Milton said, he did not know, whether Mr. Maddox meant to apply his observations to all persons wishing for any kind of reform; but he

could say for himself, that if this measure were for any sort of parliamentary reform, he would be the first to oppose it; for he did not believe, that any practical good could arise from reform in parliamentary representation. Sir Francis Burdett spoke strongly for the motion. Amongst other things he said; "I am not surprised to find ministers shrinking from charges, when brought forward in a tangible shape, especially when connected with that bugbear *parliamentary reform*. A noble Lord has stated his belief, that seats in this house have been subjects of purchase; is not this common fame? Another Hon. member has offered to prove the fact at your bar; is not this bringing the charge into a tangible shape? When it is said, that the assertors of such grievances are to be considered as calumniators of the state; your own committees, your commissioners appointed to enquire into public abuses are the calumniators by their public reports. What I assert I find in your statute book, and all I ask is, to put its provisions into practice. There are some, who argue against the motion, as not knowing to what lengths enquiry may not go. I say, if you agree to it, you save your character; if you deny it, you cannot save the land." Mr. Giddy opposed the motion, as did Mr. Tierney. Mr. Whitbread supported the motion, as did Lord Cochrane.

1809.

tary reform. Sir Francis Burdett for it.

Mr. Ponsonby is reported to have thus spoken. "The motion is a specific charge against two ministers for corrupt practices; and not a general question on parliamentary reform. After this would

Singular speech of Mr. Ponsonby.

1809.

it be right for him to take the advantage of a political adversary? No: even though he confessed there was no man on earth, to whom he had a greater antipathy than to Lord Castlereagh, a man, who had ruined the liberties of the land, which gave him birth, and destroyed the Parliament, of which he had been elected a member, yet even though he were one of the accused, he would not vote against him, because opposite in party, and in politics. Lord Folkstone argued for the motion, as did Mr. Wilberforce, who thought the house bound for its own honor and dignity to support it. Mr. Hutchinson said, as they confessed it had been a practice of long standing, he would shew mercy to the two culprits, on condition, that the gentlemen opposite would give their support to a bill to prevent the repetition of such abuses. The house divided—for the motion 305; against it 310.

Inland navigation  
and Irish  
distillery  
bills.

The subjects brought forward under parliamentary consideration this Session, which were exclusively Irish, were of more consequence, than variety. Sir Arthur Wellesley's motion to bring in a bill for the further extension of inland navigation in Ireland, was opposed by Sir John Newport and Mr. Parnell, rather upon grounds of diffidence in the persons, into whose hands the management of the concern would either be continued or placed, than from any difference of opinion as to the general utility of inland navigation. The fund was exhausted, and no fresh parliamentary grant was proposed, notwithstanding before the Union, when



Dr. Duigenan had proposed an amendment to the bill for granting 500,000*l.* to substitute the words one million, he was induced to withdraw his proposed amendment upon Lord Castlereagh's giving a solemn pledge to the Irish Parliament, that whenever the 500,000*l.* then granted should be exhausted, his Majesty's ministers would recommend to the United Parliament to grant such further sums, as should be sufficient to complete the inland navigation of Ireland. Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Foster supported, and of course carried the motion. On the Irish distillery bill, which was for suspending for a limited time the importation of home-made spirits in Ireland and England respectively, the benefit arising to Ireland under the articles of Union were strongly urged by Mr. C. Hutchinson, Mr. Ponsonby, and Sir John Newport; and successfully opposed by Messrs. Perceval and Foster.

180.9

Mr. Parnell stated, that as his former motion, relative to a communication of tithes in Ireland had been rejected, upon the ground of the want of information in pursuance of due notice, he made another motion for an address to his Majesty, that he might be graciously pleased to direct a special commission, to enquire into the mode of collecting the tithes in Ireland, and other matters connected therewith, and to report their opinion thereon. Mr. Dundas (Lord Melville's son, the new Secretary for Ireland), opposed the motion, upon the ground, that before they addressed the King to appoint commissioners to make such en

Mr. Parnell's motion about tithes.

1869.

Speeches of  
Mr. Maurice  
Fitzgerald and  
Mr. Ponsonby  
against  
tithes.

quiries, they should first be satisfied, that some practicable measure could be proposed and adopted to remedy the evils complained of\*. Mr. Maurice Fitzgerald expressed his surprise at hearing such an opposition to the motion. He did not wish to connect this enquiry with the question of religion, as he was convinced the Catholics paid the tithes more freely and more willingly than the Protestants. In the views he had in regard to a commutation of tithes, he thought nothing but a complete commutation would ever tranquillize Ireland. It would put the Established Church on a happier footing, and would afford greater encouragement to agriculture. It was quite paradoxical\*, that pasture lands should be exempted from any premium to the church. Indeed all the great landed proprietors, although more interested in the church establishment, were exempted from the payment of tithes; a circumstance, which was most discouraging to agriculture, and an evil, which

\* It would be strange, that a remedy should be proposed before the existence, nature, or extent of the evil had been ascertained.

\* At the time of these debates, a sincere friend and well wisher to Ireland, sent a statement or prospectus of a proposal to the ministers, in order, that they might have a bird's eye view of the subject. It recommended nothing, but disclosed much. It is to be found in the Appendix, No. VI. and is submitted to the reader, with the precise view, with which it was offered to the consideration of his Majesty's ministers: that is to say: merely to suggest grounds for improving the tilling system in Ireland. It also proves, that ministers declined interfering; not from being ignorant of what to propose, but from being predetermined to do nothing for the relief of Ireland.

1809.  


could only be remedied by a commutation of tithes, by which every individual should pay his portion to the clergyman. Mr. Ponsonby said, it would be highly satisfactory to know, at what period government would think fit to make any enquiry, or adopt any measure upon this subject. Last Session the Chancellor of the Exchequer had said, he had even gone the length of preparing a bill to remedy these evils; but this Session he said, it was so full of difficulties, that he had neither bill to propose, nor any measure to adopt. The time was not far distant, when the Right Hon. Gentleman and all others would find that information, as to Ireland, was indispensably necessary. The system of tithes was a subject of great importance, and surrounded with great difficulties; but not such, as were wholly insuperable. The arguments used against adopting this measure, were the best reasons for taking it immediately into consideration. The longer it was deferred, the more was Ireland exposed to calamities and difficulties of every kind. The subject was of such vital importance for the tranquillity of Ireland, as well as of England, that he hoped government would not meet the house with the same ignorance next Session. The Chancellor of the Exchequer did not think, that the house was in ignorance with respect to the subject of tithes in Ireland, but that the difficulty was, how to find out a practical mode of securing the property of the church. He could not be persuaded, that any enquiry, either by commission or committee, would do any good; for they did not



1809.

want information ; they wanted a plan how to get the better of the difficulties they knew too well, actually existed. Sir John Newport thought Lord Castlereagh bounden by his former professions, at the Union, to find out some modifications to lighten the burdens of the poor oppressed people of Ireland. Instead of doing so, that noble Lord appeared to forget all his pledges for the public good, and merely to attend to those, that went to provide for individuals, whom he had taken care to seduce to his own standard. Lord Castlereagh arrogantly asserted, that he knew of no pledge made either by Mr. Pitt or himself upon the subject of tithes, or the Catholic question. He most distinctly denied, that ever he had made any pledge whatever as to Ireland. Mr. C. Hutchinson deprecated the conduct of Lord Castlereagh as to Ireland. He was the parent of the Union, and in order to effect it, he had made many promises ; but whenever any question as to the amelioration of the situation of Ireland came to be agitated, he either put a negative upon it, or moved the previous question. Many years had passed since the Union, and nothing had been done to ameliorate its situation ! Not one of the expectations of its unhappy people had been answered. The house divided and rejected the motion by a majority of 71.

Protestant  
petitions  
against  
tithes.

In proportion as the *No Popery* ministers felt themselves secure in their seats, so did they assume credit for their opposition to every measure tending to ameliorate the situation, or redress the griev-

1809.

ances of Ireland. On the motion of Mr. Parnell, that the petition of the freeholders of the King's County and County of Kerry, presented last Session, against tithes were read. He said, that other Irish counties had expressed their opinions to the same effect by their resolutions. Not only the general population, but even the majority of the Irish clergy, desired an alteration in the system of tithes. The clergy were in fact equally aggrieved, with the common people. The generality of the clergy in Ireland were not the oppressors, although some instances of oppression from the clergy of the Established Church might be produced. Generally speaking, the clergy did not levy much above one-third of their dues. These petitions were not from the body of the Irish Catholics. On the contrary, they had refrained systematically from having any thing to do with meetings on this subject. In the course of the last Session he had given notice of a motion on these petitions. But wishing the subject to be taken up by his Majesty's ministers, he had chosen to leave it to them; but understanding, that they intended to do nothing this year, he would now move for leave to bring in a bill to enable the incumbents to grant leases of 21 years to their parishioners. From what Mr. Percival had said to him on a former occasion, he had some reason to calculate upon his support. The agriculture of Ireland would derive essential advantage from that measure. The Proctor, against whose oppression the people could, from their poverty, obtain no redress, by means of vexatious

1809.

processes and other modes of oppression, such as threats of holding up refractory persons as disloyal, had a despotic power over these poor people. He then adverted to the disturbances in Ireland, and mentioned one instance, where a multitude of these deluded persons having been persuaded to deliver up their arms, and swear allegiance to his Majesty, had declared on their oaths, that the only reason for their taking arms was their being goaded to madness by this system of collecting tithes or proctorships. The Chancellor of the Exchequer thought the bill unnecessary. It gave no power to the clergyman, that he did not possess at present. As the law now stood, there was nothing to prevent an incumbent from letting his tithes during the whole period of his incumbency\*. He

\* Mr. Perceval was either ignorant of or inattentive to a practise against clerical swindling (*pia fraus*), too prevalent of late years in Ireland. In order to encourage the labour and industry of husbandmen in improving their lands, many clergymen granted leases of tithes to the tenants during their incumbencies. The lessee speculating upon the life of the incumbent, would make expenditures in the improvement of his lands proportionate to the probability of his own enjoyment of the fruits of his improvements. When the improved lands began to yield increased crops, in order that the church should not lose the advantage of them (*decimæ uberiores*), the incumbent would effectuate an exchange of livings (often preconcerted), with some other lessor of his tithes for his incumbency; thus letting each other *gratis* into the full benefit of the tenants labour and expenditure; upon the speculation of a life interest at least in his improvements. In some instances this fructifying process has been known in two or three years to have doubled, and in others to have trebled the value of the living.



1809.

thought it best to negative the motion at the outset, than to countenance expectations, that could not be realized. The conclusion, that he drew from much application to the subject was, that nothing could be usefully done on it. Mr. Ponsonby, Mr. Grattan, Mr. Fitzgerald, Mr. Tighe, and other real friends of their country, even Mr. Dennis Browne, supported the motion: but the ministers got rid of it by Mr. Canning's moving the previous question, although, as he owned himself, it were not usual to propose it upon the bringing in a bill. It was however carried by a majority of 71.

In the fiscal departments of former governments, Government countenances waste, embezzlement, extortion, bribery and corruption have happened; and generally retribution, fiscal delinquency, dismissal, and punishment have followed detection. It was reserved for the *No Popery* administration, unblushingly to palliate, defend, indemnify, and reward delinquency. Sir John Newport, as an upright friend to his country, drew the attention of the house to the subject of the balances suffered to remain in the hands of the collectors of revenue in Ireland, notwithstanding repeated remonstrances and promises to check this system, he found it in progressive encrease for the last five years. In 1805, the balance was £223,500, and in 1809, £295,000. In England the whole balance in the hands of the land and assessed tax collectors appeared from the last returns to be but £150,000. He concluded with moving an address to his Majesty in conformity with the sentiments he had expressed. Mr. Foster said, he had a measure in

Govern-  
ment coun-  
tenances  
fiscal de-  
linquency.  
Teauchamp  
Hill.

1809.

contemplation, which would answer the Right Hon. Baronet's object, who he hoped, upon this assurance, would be disposed for the present to withdraw his motion, which he did. On another day, Sir John Newport made a motion\*, relative to the appointment of Mr. Beauchamp Hill, to a situation in the excise in Ireland, in direct violation of a statute made in 1806, which enacted, that any officer in the customs or excise in Ireland, convicted of taking money in the execution of his office, should be incapable of holding any place under the government. It appeared from the report of the commissioners appointed to enquire into abuses in the customs and excise in Ireland, that in September 1806, they called before them a person of the name of Beauchamp Hill. Upon his examination he stated, he had been a surveyor for four years, and that he was in the habit of taking

\* We give the words of this motion of Sir John Newport, which the most profligate minister of the most arbitrary Monarch would not have been presumed hardly enough to have opposed in the zenith of despotism.

"That it appears by the 46th of the King, c. 88, that any person or persons, holding any office or situation in the Customs or Excise in Ireland, taking any money in the execution of their office, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and be rendered thereby incapable of holding any place of trust or emolument under the Crown. That it appears that Beauchamp Hill, on his examination before the Commissioners appointed to inquire into abuses in the Customs and Excise in Ireland, was guilty of receiving money as a Surveyor of Excise; that it appears, that the said Beauchamp Hill, being so convicted, was notwithstanding promoted to the office of Inspector General of Excise, in violation of the statute of the 45th of the King, c. 88."

1809.

a present of 20 guineas a year from every still contained within his walk. It also appeared, by his examination, that he justified this practice on the ground of precedent and notoriety, and also from necessity, owing to the inadequacy of his salary to his support. In the month of March 1808, he was promoted to the office of Inspector General of Excise; that is, to oversee, that others did not abuse that trust, of which he himself had been convicted; and this, conjointly with another person, in the room of two, who were removed on charges of misconduct, which they had denied, and upon which they demanded trial. Mr. Foster said, it had been the constant practice of excise officers in Ireland, to take money in addition to their salary. This being felt an evil, an enquiry was instituted. Out of thirty excise officers examined before the commissioners, 27 had owned they were in the habits of receiving presents, and they justified their doing so, upon the plea of previous practices being known to their superiors, and the smallness of their salaries. It was considered prudent to raise their salaries, thereby taking away the necessity of continuing their former practices. With respect to Messrs. Fanning and Fitzsimons, who were dismissed from the situation of Inspector General, it was a mistake, that they had been dismissed under a charge of similar practices; the offence for which they had been dismissed was, for having tampered with other officers not to give evidence before the commissioners of enquiry. He did not see any way of disposing of this matter so proper,



1809.

as by moving the previous question. Mr. Hutchinson declared, that if the present motion were refused, it would appear, as if the house were determined on supporting every species of corruption, and saying, that none but dishonest men were capable of filling the offices of government. Mr. Croker excused the necessity, that had existed for the officers taking presents, from the inadequacy of their salaries to their support. Mr. Moore said; of all the corruptions he had ever heard of, this was the most gross. He then read several extracts from the report of the commissioners on the excise and customs of Ireland; which states, that in one instance, where £17,114 were collected, the duties amounted to £141,000 more; and that in the case of private distilleries alone, the amount of fraud in one year was £856,000. And this monstrous fraud was through the corrupt connivance of officers; then the distillers bribed the officers, and it appeared in one year the revenue was robbed of £1,712,000. Mr. Dundas, the Irish minister, said; that what was done could not be undone. The question came to this; first, whether the whole of the officers, all having been guilty alike, should have been dismissed? and next, whether Mr. Hill should have been appointed? Sir S. Romilly strongly deprecated arguments, which went to connive at such frauds. When the House divided, 77 voted against, and 50 for Sir John Newport's motion\*.

\* As the ministers so tenaciously defended and countenanced the defaulters and delinquents, and retained them in their ser-

Scarcely did an Irish subject come under the consideration of Parliament, which did not disclose some abuse in the Irish government. When the house was in committee upon the flax-seed bounty bill, it came out from Sir John Newport, who was anxious, that whatever money might be voted by Parliament, should be actually applied to the purposes, for which it should be granted, that the Irish Linen Company (which was peculiarly under the influence of Mr. Foster) had received considerable sums of money under the appropriation act for distinct purposes, which had been applied to different objects by the order of two or three individuals. The Dublin paving bill, which had been originally framed by Sir Arthur Wellesley, and was strongly commended by Mr. Croker, savoured so much of the job, and gave such arbitrary powers, and held out such temptation to corruption, that the ministers were frightened into an abandonment of it. The city of Dublin was decidedly against it. Upon the mo-

1809.

Further  
abuses of  
government.

vice, alledging, that they could not find substitutes for them; the reader is reminded, that about 5,000,000 of Irish subjects were open to selection: for although the legislature had in 1793 opened these departments to Catholics, government had generally counteracted the legislative liberality, by appointing Protestants exclusively. Government was so pressed upon these abuses, that an act was passed this Session "To continue till the 1st August 1810, and amend certain acts for appointing commissioners to enquire into the fees, gratifications, perquisites & emoluments received in several public offices in Ireland, to & examine into any abuses, which may exist in the same, and the mode of receiving, collecting, issuing and accounting for public money in Ireland."

1809.

tion of Mr. Grattan, who started many objections to it, the second reading was put off for six months; and the bill was of course lost. Most of the acts passed relative to commerce, were for extending former regulations one year longer. Ministers were so hardly pressed with the detection of multifarious abuses, permitted, connived at, or sanctioned under their rule, that they prematurely and ungraciously closed the Session by commission on the 16th of June. Conscious, that so much detection and exposition of abuse naturally tended to slacken the public esteem and affection for the constitution, which under their tutelage had been so disgraced and weakened, they feebly fancied, that the practical effects of bad government, would be counteracted by the theoretic exhortations of the bad governors. The King's speech contained the following recommendation: "His Majesty doubts not, that on your return into your respective counties, you will carry with you a disposition to inculcate, both by instruction and example, a spirit of attachment to those established laws and that happy constitution, which it has ever been his Majesty's anxious wish to support and maintain, and upon which, under providence, depend the welfare and prosperity of this kingdom." As usual poor Ireland was not glanced at.

Catholics  
prepare to  
petition  
parliament.

The body of Irish Catholics was active during the Session in forming arrangements for bringing their claims once more before the legislature with increased effect. The county and city of Kil-



kenny had taken a leading part in opposing the *Veto* : and in order to prevent that opposition from working any change or alteration upon the minds of their parliamentary friends, who might be supposed wedded to their proposition of a *Veto*, they presented several addresses to Mr. Grattan, Mr. Ponsonby, and Lord Grenville, expressive of their unbounded gratitude for their past, and confidence in their future exertions on their behalf. They were proud, that each progress in enquiry advanced them in their career, and each revision of their claims drew them nearer to the constitution. Each of the three answered the address in the warmest acknowledgments of their satisfaction, that their services had been acceptable to so numerous and respectable a body, and with assurances of their continuing them upon the same principles they had hitherto acted. Not a word contained either in the addresses or answers could be tortured into a reference to the *Veto*.

On the 24th of May, a general meeting of the Catholic body took place at the Exhibition Room, William-street, in consequence of a requisition \*

General  
meeting of  
Catholics.

\* The following was the form of the requisition, with the signatures.

#### TO THE CATHOLICS OF IRELAND.

" We, the undersigned, do hereby request a general meeting of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, to be held in Dublin, on the 24th day of May next, for the purpose of determining on the propriety of petitioning the legislature at this juncture, for the

1809.

1809.

signed by Lord Netterville and 56 respectable members of that body. Lord Fingal having been una-

removal of the incapacities and disabilities at present affecting the Catholic body."—May, 1809.

Netterville.

Francis Goold, Bart.

Wm. Talbot, Castle Talbot, Esq.

J. Lalor, co. Kilkenny, Esq.

William Skerratt, Finvara, co.

Clare, Esq.

Richard Nagle, Garavally, co.

Tipperary, Esq.

T. Wyse, co. Waterford, Esq.

Hon. Charles French.

John Burke, of Glynsk, Esq.

Count D'Alton.

Nich. Mahon, city of Dub. Esq.

Thomas Fitzgerald, of Waterford, Esq.

Peter B. Hussey, Esq.

Pat. Mahon, co. Clare, Esq.

Luke Plunkett, Esq.

Richard O'Gorman, Esq.

Daniel O'Connell, Esq.

William Carroll, Esq.

Francis Purcell, co. Dub. Esq.

John Lawless, city Dub. Esq.

J. B. Kernan, co. Monag. Esq.

J. J. Burke, M. D.

Nich. Browne, Parsonstown, co.

Meath, Esq.

Ant. Brovne, Dublin, Esq.

Edward Hay, Esq.

J. Esmonde, city of Dub. Esq.

J. Kennedy, co. Kilkenny, Esq.

N. P. O'Gorman, Esq.

J. Taylor, co. Westmeath, Esq.

J. McLoughlin, city Dub. Esq.

Chas. Ryan, Esq. Dublin.

Gr. Scurlogg, city Dub. Esq.

John Lalor, Cranough, co. Tipperary, Esq.

John Mannin, co. Tip. Esq.

J. R. O'Fallon, co. Rosc. Esq.

Ed. Sheridan, city of Dublin,

M. D.

David Hinchy, Rockvale, co.

Dublin, Esq.

B. Gannon, city Dublin, Esq.

Christopher Taaffe, co. Galway, Esq.

Dominick Rice, Esq.

Dennys Scully, Esq.

J. Lynch, city Dub. M. D.

Charles Dromigoole, city Dub. M. D.

James Gunnling, city Dub. Esq.

John Dunn, city Dublin, Esq.

Henry Corr, co. Roscom. Esq.

Dom Corr, co. Roscom. Esq.

Cornelius Lyne, Esq.

Thomas Barry, Esq.

Ter. O'Brien, co. Clare, Esq.

Rand. Kernan, co. Ferm. Esq.

M. J. Plunkett, city Dub. Esq.

J. B. Clinch, Esq.

James Walsh, city Dub. Esq.

John Blake, co. Galway, Esq.

Luke Lawless, Esq.

1809.  
~~~~~

nimously called to the chair, Mr. O'Gorman opened the debate with a long and impressive speech, the tendency of which was to prove, that the Catholics of Ireland should petition the legislature, year after year, until the prayer of their petition was granted, according to the advice of Mr. Fox and Lord Grenville. Nothing was ever gained but by petition, no benefit had ever resulted from an indignant silence. He concluded by moving a resolution similar to that made on a former occasion by that great and early friend and father of the Catholic measure, Mr. Keogh in the year 1807. Mr. Lalor of the county of Tipperary seconded the motion. When Sir Francis Gould disavowing any intention of impeding the great, extensive, and vital object of the petition, but fearing, that the Session of Parliament was too far advanced to entertain hopes of the success, which he was persuaded must ultimately attend the measure, moved as an amendment, that a committee be appointed to prepare a petition to be presented early in the ensuing Session; trusting, that in the interval the great Catholic body of this kingdom would have time to make their sentiments fully known, and thereby give strength to their exertions. Mr. O'Gorman immediately withdrew his motion in favour of the amendment. Mr. Boyle concurred in the general expediency of petition, but not in the present instance. That could not by any construction be called a meeting of the Catholics of Ireland. Neither could such a meeting with convenience, and therefore with success, ever be as-



1800.

sembled in the capital. A petition upon the present occasion was calculated to keep in office a set of the worst men, that had ever disgraced it; and who then were, from the discovery of their own wickedness and corruptions, tottering in their places. *No Popery* had placed them in office, and *no Popery* would keep them there. Upon his making some observations on the *Veto*, strong marks of disapprobation were manifested, and he was called to order by Lord Fingal, as chairman, as the question respecting the *Veto* was irrevelant to the object of that meeting. Mr. Baggot was a friend to petition, but he wished, that the sense of the whole people should be taken upon it. Meetings of the Catholics in every county, and in every town should be holden for that purpose, and then the voices of his Majesty's subjects would reach the throne with effect. Mr. Keogh observed, that with respect to the existence and oppression of their grievances they were unanimous; and differed only as to the means most likely to remove them. He was ready on his part, to sacrifice, to burn, with his own hands the resolution, which he was about to propose to the meeting, if any man could shew him what was likely to be more effectual to promote the object of all their wishes. A petition at the present moment, must, if presented, be presented to decided enemies, or lukewarm friends; upon neither of whom could be placed any reliance for success. Mr. Perceval and his colleagues were admitted into office, upon the *express condition* of excluding the Catholic

1809.

claims from the relief of the legislature; and their predecessors had very willingly consented to give up a bill, nominally only in favour of the Catholics, rather than resign their places. Mr. Keogh adverted in strong and pointed terms, to the double imposition practised upon the Catholics at the time of the Union. They insisted, that the proposals for their support from the Unionists and the Anti-unionists, were equally hollow, and equally insidious. Had it been otherwise; had the Catholics been liberally treated by their Parliament, they would have raised a cry in its defence, that would have been heard, and would have shaken the plan of Union to atoms. No man had a right to suppose, that he wished to relinquish the Catholic claims. With his dying breath, with his last words, as a testamentary bequest to his countrymen, he would recommend to them never to relinquish, never even to relax in the pursuit of their undoubted rights. No man could expect success to the petition. Without that expectation, he saw nothing likely to accrue from the measure but mischievous and injurious consequences. He resisted the measure, not for the purpose of retarding, but of forwarding the Catholic claims. He then read the resolution, which was afterwards proposed from the chair. Counsellor Lynch in a speech of much animation opposed the resolution proposed by Mr. Keogh. Mr. Burke of Glynsk warmly supported Sir Francis Gould's amendment. Doctor Drumgoole objected to Mr. Keogh's resolution as too violent. He proposed a string of his own

1809.

resolutions, which were negatived without a division. Mr. O'Gorman in reply expatiated on Mr. Keogh's resolution, which he considered too strong and violent, and tending to mar the object in view. Mr. Keogh replied at some length\*; and Mr.

\* After Mr. Keogh had replied, he was so exhausted by his exertions, that he quitted the meeting, which continued sitting for some hours, and passed several resolutions inconsistent with the first.

Resolved, We, the Catholics of Ireland, have made repeated petitions for the relief of our grievances. The greatest and wisest of men, both in and out of parliament, both in and out of office, were decidedly in favour of the expediency and justice of our claims; and they further insisted, that it was necessary to the very existence of the Empire to interest in its defence a population of from four to five millions of Catholics, constituting more than a fourth of the United Kingdom. We are now unhappily and experimentally convinced, that no principle of justice, no force of reasoning, is sufficient to counteract a malignant influence, which threatens the Empire with general contamination and consequent destruction. Public delinquents and defrauders would put to hazard the existence of the reigning family, and the integrity of the Empire, rather than restore the people to the privileges of the constitution, which would produce such wholesome reform of abuses, as must deprive themselves of the opportunity of undue influence and peculation. Under these discouraging circumstances, without hope of success at present, we are unwilling to agitate our claims by petition to Parliament, feeling that rejection might encrease the discontent already existing in our body; and we cannot be indifferent to the pernicious effect of acquainting authentically, through the debates of the British Parliament, our potent and too successful enemy, of the internal divisions, and the corruptions of the state in the only powerful nation not yet subject to his controul.—  
Proposed by Mr. Keogh.

Resolved unanimously, That the noble Lords, who compose the Catholic peerage, and the survivors of the persons, who were



Mac Donnell supported him. Mr. Mahon opposed the resolution of Mr. Keogh, on the same

1809.

in the year 1793, delegates of the Catholics of Ireland, and acquitted themselves of that charge with zeal, talent, and permanent utility, together with the persons, who were appointed by the Catholic citizens of Dublin to prepare a late address, do possess the confidence of the Catholic body.—Proposed by Mr. Mac Donnell.

Resolved unanimously, That in case of the death, or want of confidence in any of the abovementioned persons, the remainder shall receive among them such person or persons as shall distinctly appear to them to possess the confidence of the Catholic body.—Proposed by Mr. Mac Donnell.

Resolved unanimously, That the persons, who composed the committees to manage the petitions in the years 1805 and 1807, do form part of the above body, so that the number of those added does not exceed forty-two.—Proposed by Mr. Burke, of Glynske.

Resolved unanimously, That it be confided to the foregoing noblemen and gentlemen to take into consideration the form of a petition to Parliament, and the mode of presenting it, so that the same may be prepared by the first day of the next session — Proposed by Mr. O'Connell.

Resolved unanimously, That the noblemen and gentlemen aforesaid are not representatives of the Catholic body, or any portion thereof; nor shall they assume or pretend to be representatives of the Catholic body, or any portion thereof. Therefore, that it be imperative upon them to have the said petition presented to Parliament within the first fortnight of the next session.—Proposed by Mr. O'Connell.

Resolved unanimously, That the above-mentioned persons be authorised to receive subscriptions for the purpose of defraying the expenses attendant on the Catholic petition.—Proposed by Mr. Burke.

Resolved unanimously, That from the activity, zeal, integrity, and ability evinced by Edward Hay, Esq. in the discharge of his duty as Secretary to the Catholics of Ireland, he is hereby ap-

1809.

Catholics  
claim their  
rights  
openly in  
spite of the  
convention  
act.

grounds as Mr. O'Gorman, and lamented, that there should be any difference whatever upon a subject, which had for its object the interest of all parties. A division having been called for, 160 voted for Mr. Keogh's resolution, and 110 for Sir Francis Goold's amendment.

The consolidation, which the Catholic body acquired by the resolutions entered into at this meeting after Mr. Keogh's resolution had been disposed of, by reviving or establishing a Catholic committee possessing the confidence of, though not strictly representing the body, tended greatly to rouse the jealousy and alarm of their enemies. A point of union was formed, by which the growth of their strength and consequence would be invigorated. They considered, that although the convention act forbade the election, appointment and assembling of *delegates* under pretence of preparing and presenting public petitions, yet it kept open and alive by special exception, as in the bill of rights, the asserted right of his Majesty's subjects to petition the King or Parliament for redress of any public

pointed to act as Secretary to the aforesaid body. — Proposed by Mr. Lawler, county Tipperary.

FINGAL, Chairman.

The Earl of Fingal having left the chair, and Sir Francis Goold, Bart. being called thereto.

Resolved unanimously, That the most marked thanks of this meeting are hereby offered to the Earl of Fingal, for his dignified and proper conduct on this and every other occasion. —

Proposed by Mr. O'Connell,

1809.

or private grievance: and that it would destroy that right, if it were unlawful for the several parties interested in the matter of the petition to meet and consult about the framing and managing of it. All was done openly in the conscious reliance on the ultimate prevalence of truth and justice. In proportion as the Catholics felt their growing consequence, so was it dreaded by their enemies, who in Ireland are, with few (if any) exceptions, the Orangemen. The sufferance of those illegal and unconstitutional societies lays a grievous weight of responsibility at the door of every man in power, who gives them a positive or even negative support. In defiance of the most positive and recently re-enacted statutes\*, they associate under the pretended obligations of secret oaths unlawfully administered: the very secrecy of their engagements, their proscription of millions of their loyal fellow-subjects, their open and systematic outrages against their proscribed neighbours, and above all their

\* See what is said in the preface upon the operation of the 47 Geo. III. c. xiii. which was in force, when that preface was published. Upon the motion of Mr. W. Pole that act, which would have expired on the 20th of July 1810 (that being the last day of the session), was repealed on the 15th of July, and five days after, viz. on the 20th, a new act was passed, containing every word relating to the taking and administering of unlawful oaths, which was contained in the former act. This latter act, which is now in force, is 50 Geo. III. c. cii. and is intitled *An act for the more effectually preventing the administering and taking of unlawful oaths in Ireland, and for the protection of magistrates and witnesses in criminal cases.* For five days only during the Richmond administration was the taking the Orange oath not statute felony. It was every day treasonable.



1809.

notorious and unvarying habit of never swearing against a brother Orangeman when at issue with a Catholic, are awful warnings to the magistrate not to permit the law to sleep over them. Who ever heard of a sworn Orangeman having been indicted upon either of these acts? Yet thousands have been feloniously sworn in since their passing. The Richmond administration has given occasional and affected discouragement, constant and cordial countenance to Orangeism. Those deep and pestiferous dunghills, in which the serpent's eggs are hatched undisturbed, require to be turned up, and exposed, to prevent the noxious brood from poisoning the land. The illegal secrecy of the Orangemens oaths and obligations, the mischievous generation and culture of proscriptive acrimony between the Orangeists and 5,000,000 of their fellow subjects, and their treasonable substitution of *absolute* for *conditional* allegiance lay a duty on every loyal subject to rest upon probabilities, to raise presumptions, almost to hazard conjectures, in order to defeat a system worked in darkness against the law, constitution, and welfare of the country.

Orangeism  
Anti-Catholic.

It is notorious, that Orangeism is fundamentally Anti-Catholic. The original society declared exterminatory war against the Catholics (*bellum internecinum*). They waged it effectually some time in Armagh. The desolation of victory there was the only check upon the ferocity of that warfare. The loss of tenants and labourers was not suddenly to be replaced. The leading extermina-

1809.

tors found, that the expulsion of the enemy, was the destruction of their own substance. The destroying bands neither chose nor sufficed to hold and cultivate the lands, as the former tenants had done. If any of them took farms, they claimed a reduction of half, and frequently two-thirds of the former rents, as the price of their meritorious devastation. Hence the leading part of the Orange societies found it political to cover their primitive spirit and designs under less revolting forms and obligations. *Exterminatory* was softened into *perpetual* warfare: massacre and conflagration, lowered to proscription and oppression: and the whole was laquered over with the treasonable varnish of *conditional* *ligeance*. It is to be presumed, that the Orangeites attributed the growth of the Catholic cause, and the progress of liberality in the public mind to the external relaxation of their primitive severity. They consequently redoubled their exertions in multiplying lodges, and renovating their spirit, not only in Ireland but in England. As the original ground of Orange action bore only upon the Catholic, so the attention of their missionaries was chiefly directed to Lancashire, the most Catholic county of England; and in that county alone in the year 1808, were there according to well founded belief 72 Orange lodges established. Although the opacity of Orange craft be impenetrable to the common eye; yet late public acts of their body have strongly indicated changes in the discipline and tactics of their system, which of course are in their judgment better calculated to

1809.

effectuate the original ends of their institute. Have they not rendered the system publicly less revolting, secretly more effective and atrocious? Have they not extended the Armagh obligation of exterminating the Catholic, to the expulsion and extirpation of every friend to his cause, and advocate of religious freedom?

Orange  
Aristocracy  
disclaim the  
institute.

So much undeniable truth has lately been brought before the public concerning the Orange institution: so glaringly has the illegality and mischief of the system been exposed, such weighty and fatal objections urged against it, that it has become fashionable with many Orangemen of education and fortune to affect to disclaim every thing objectionable in the system; and to throw it exclusively upon the incorrigible ignorance and bigotry of the rabble, who are alike in every country and of every persuasion. This was base artifice to disguise or conceal the countenance and support, which the Orange societies have uniformly and unceasingly received from government. If the obligations and oaths of Orangemen were of a virtuous and beneficial tendency, why not proclaim them aloud? If illegal and dangerous, why criminally conceal them? Whilst the Orange aristocracy thus affects to disclaim their own institute in detail, their activity in keeping the evil on foot is supereminently criminal. Nor can they redeem their guilt without revealing in detail the whole mischief of the system, by enabling others, or co-operating effectually themselves (as far as they possess power) to expose and effectually extinguish it.



1809.

It cannot be too frequently repeated, that the subsistence of the Orange societies under the present principles of secrecy and proscription is incompatible with the tranquillity and safety of Ireland, and consequently with the integrity of the British Empire. Under a cloud of mysterious darkness portending an awful explosion, the criminal is he, who feeds it with destructive matter. In tracing visible effects to occult causes reason is forced into problem, presumption (even), loose conjecture.

It was reported, believed, and not contradicted, that about the time, at which the Catholic Bishops of Ireland were assembled in national synod to oppose the *Veto*, the Orange associations met by deputation, in Dawson-street, Dublin, in order, as may be naturally presumed, to counteract the presumed resolutions of that episcopal synod, and to make head generally against the alarming growth of popery. A deputy from the 72 English (almost all Lancastrian) lodges came over in unusual pomp of accredited diplomacy to the Irish societies\*. Through the gloom of Orange dark-

Meeting of  
all the  
Orange  
lodges by  
deputation.

\* The annalist wishes to do justice, even to Orangemen. He admits, he has no document for the specific instructions brought over by the English deputy to the Irish deputies. Amongst other difficulties of procuring such information, was an orderly serjeant, who kept watch and ward at the door in Dawson street, whilst the Orange orgies were performed within. It has notwithstanding been credibly rumoured without any contradiction (it is not vouched for by the historian), that the opening of the commission by the English deputy was made on the 15th of September 1808, from which day they adjourned to the 17th, and thence to the 19th of the month: that the leading deputies from

1809.

ness, it would be presumption to ascertain the points of debate, within their strictly guarded sanctuary in Dawson-street. Against sworn secrecy in national matter, it becomes national virtue, to presume, that British candor wished to confine Protestant zeal to rational security, whilst Irish ferocity saw no security but in blood and extirpation. To that autumnal meeting of Orange deputation may be not unfairly ascribed, the renovation and extension of the institute, which it appears certain, did take place in the society within the last three years. Historical documents (though they amount not to judicial evidence) exist, to shew, that a renovation of the system actually prevailed in the year 1809: that the refusal to take the new (which was termed the *extirpatory*) oath, when duly served with notice, was cause of expul-

the Irish Lodges were, the Right Hon. George Ogle, Dr. P. Duigenan, John Claudius Beresford, James Verner, and John Giffard. That Dr. Duigenan opened the debate with a speech of admired and uncontradicted virulence; that Messrs. J. C. Beresford and James Verner said but little of consequence, though of much violence, on the occasion: that Mr. Giffard harangued profusely and vehemently on the loss of his son and his nephew Ryan by the hands of rebels, demanded blood for blood, and urged, that retaliation was to be foreprized: that fondly anticipating the destructive powers of a Royal *Veto* on Catholic purity, he vaunted, that if the Irish Catholics could be once fixed with it, he (little disposed as he was to Catholicity), would be the first of the freemen of Dublin to propose a petition to the Imperial Parliament for their emancipation: and that an elegant plate had been engraved in England for the occasion, bearing this inscription, *Loyal Protestant Association of Orange-*  
*men.*

sion from, or rather non-admission to any lodge or association of the new system ; which was so accumulated beyond the amphibious institute of 1800, that many old members had withdrawn from the societies on account of the new oath or obligation, who nevertheless adhered to the general principles of the original institution, of which at the same time, they appeared anxious to preserve the spirit and the advantages \*.

1809.

\* The author has seen a certificate from an Orange lodge, dated June 29, 1809, bearing unerring marks of genuine authenticity, by which the holder was certified to have regularly received the first, second, and third degrees of a true Orangeman in 1798. But that having been served with a notice to take the new (extirpatory) oath, he refused, although duly admonished thereunto; there followed a caution to all loyal associations not to recognise him as a brother under the present system. A communication of this circumstance the author knows to have been made, and the original document to have been shewn to a high official servant of government. It was received with apparent apathy and official coldness; certainly without surprise, horror, or indignation. It was suggested, that if the gentleman's duty impelled him to make further enquiries into the matter, the utmost delicacy, caution and secrecy were imperiously necessary.

At an Aggregate Meeting in Dublin on the 28th of May 1811, the Irish Catholics came to an unanimous resolution of petitioning Parliament to secure the free exercise of religion to the Catholic Militia men in Great Britain, in case the then pending bill for interchanging the Militia should pass into a law. At that meeting many able and instructive speeches were made both by Protestants and Catholics, which went particularly to illustrate the latter conduct of government to the Catholic body. Mr. O'Connell on that occasion excelled his usual excellence. Amongst other things he said. " From most respectable authority I have it, that Orange lodges are encreasing in different



1809.

Government  
favourable to  
Orange delinquency.

The real principles and disposition of the present government with reference to the Orange so-

"parts of the country with the knowledge of those, whose duty it is to suppress them. If I have been misinformed, I would wish, that what I now say, may be replied to by any one able to shew, that I am wrong. I hold in my hand the certificate of an Orange purple man (which he produced), who was advanced to that degree as lately as the 24th of April 1811 in a lodge in Dublin. I have adduced this fact to shew you, that this dreadful and abominable conspiracy is still in existence; and I am well informed, and believe it to be the fact, that the King's ministry are well acquainted with this circumstance. I have been also assured, that the associations in the North are re-organized, and that a committee of these delegates in Belfast, have printed and distributed 500 copies of their new constitution. This I have heard from excellent authority; and I should not be surprised, if the Attorney General knows it. Yet there has been no attempt to disturb these conspirators; no attempt to visit them with magisterial authority; no attempt to rout this infamous banditti. Perhaps my information is false; if so, I give the government an opportunity to rebut the charge."

The fostering tenderness for Orange delinquency was not confined to privacy; it openly defiled the courts of justice. In the case of the *King at the prosecution of Butler v. Howard*, at the Summer assizes in Kilkenny 1810, William Butler, a Catholic youth, had been shot *premeditatedly, wanionly, and maliciously*, by Edward Howard. He was an Orangeman, and a Yeoman of Mr. Mathews corps, who collected a stock purse for his defence. Mr. P. Burrowes, counsel for the prosecution, in cross examining one of the witnesses for the prisoner, extracted from him the following important facts. That every man in that corps was a sworn Orangeman. That it was the preliminary condition of admission. When he was questioned as to the purport of an Orangeman's oath and obligation, he refused for some time to answer. Mr. Burrowes warmly insisted upon his right to have an answer. Mr. J. Osbourne at last directed the witness (with

1809.

cieties in Ireland are of vital moment to her security. The steady, unprejudiced, and unintimidated

apparent reluctance) to answer. The witness said, the Orange-man's oath was an oath of allegiance to the King. He was further pressed to answer, whether the Orange oath of allegiance were conditional or absolute. He faltered and hesitated; Mr. Burrowes questioned him further; Whether he did not understand by the oath he had taken, that if his Majesty were to consent to grant Catholic emancipation, or make any further concessions to his Irish Catholic subjects, he would be absolved from the obligation of his oath. He said, he certainly should hold himself released from it, in case his Majesty favoured the Catholics; and such was the general intendment of the oath by the whole yeomanry corps, which had taken it. Mr. Burrowes expressed with great energy his unequivocal opinion in open court, that such a *conditional* oath of allegiance was treasonable; and he called upon the leading counsel for the prisoner to admit, and the Judge to declare the law upon that point. They were both silent; to the astonishment of all, and the indignation of many, in a very crowded court. The jury found a verdict of manslaughter. The author received this report from gentlemen, who were on the jury and counsel in the cause.

In every way did government seek to soften or palliate Orange delinquency. The Leinster Journal, well known to be in their pay, immediately after the perpetration of that horrid deed, published the following malignant calumny on the 19th of May 1809.

"We are sorry to observe, that our city (Kilkenny) has been disgraced for some nights back, by riotous and tumultuous mobs, who, in various instances, have manifested a determined spirit of insurrection and disorder. It is with regret we have to report, that the life of a young lad has been lost upon the occasion, by the discharge of a musket from one of the houses, attacked by these disturbers of the public peace. Upon a solemn and minute investigation, by the Mayor and respectable citizens of Kilkenny, into the cause of the disgraceful disorders above mentioned, they have been found to originate in base, malici-

1809.

eye will penetrate the murky fog, and through it trace in distinct occurrences, the unexceptionable favour, countenance, support, impunity, and re-

ous, and mischievous fabrications, calculated to influence and excite a ferment in the public mind, and devised for the most wicked and infamous purposes. The spirited exertion of our chief magistrate, aided by the determined co-operation of the community, has proved successful in checking those outrages, and will, we trust, effectually prevent their recurrence. The authors of the foul rumours, which had been as industriously as wickedly circulated, will, if discovered, feel the utmost weight of the penalty, which law can inflict. On Thursday and yesterday, an inquest was held by coroners of this city, on the body of William Butler (the person alluded to above), when the jury returned a verdict of wilful murder against Edward Howard, who has been committed to the city gaol."

This had no sooner appeared, than on the very same day the gentlemen of the jury published the following protest or declaration against the malicious calumny.

"In consequence of the above paragraph, we, the undersigned jurors, being the majority of the jury impannelled on the coronor's inquest taken on view of the body of the above named William Butler, and which jury found a verdict of *wilful and premeditated* murder against Edward Howard, do feel it incumbent on us to declare, that our decision was founded on evidence, which clearly evinced, that the said Howard suffered no attack in person or property, or otherwise howsoever, that could warrant him in destroying the life of a fellow creature; and we do again declare our decided opinion to be, that the said Howard fired the shot, which killed said Butler, *premeditatedly, wantonly, and maliciously.*" —Kilkenny, May 19, 1810.

Robert Meighan, Foreman,	Lawrence Brophy,
Nicholas Deyereux,	Cornelius Maxwell,
James Dempsey,	John Maher,
Joseph Saunders,	Mathew Waters,
John Bergen, jun.	Michael Gready,



1808.

ward of Government to Orange delinquency. It has been before observed †, that the Orange orgies of the 12th of July, 1807, at the commencement of the Richmond administration, had been graced at Enniscorthy by the triumphant entry of the restored Orange magistrate, Mr. Jacob, at the head of the Orange corps, with all the *insignia* of the institution. An order had, during the Bedford administration, been issued from Government to \* discountenance, if not to prohibit the display of these public badges of offensive distinction on their anniversaries. The order was partially observed during the Bedford administration; but in the first year of the Richmond government, in the most Orange parts of Ireland it appeared to be studiously disregarded, by the Orangists superadding to the wonted ceremonies of the annual commemorations, new and fastidious solemnities. Though the general Bedford order be not known either to have been recalled or renewed, it appears to have been taken up or forgotten, as the juggle of the moment required. The Enniscorthy Orangemen, at the return of their July Festival in this year (1809) were determined to give symptoms of their indignation, at the virtuous exertions of one honest magistrate, who had dared to make head against the renovation of systematic acerbity and oppression, which in that neighbourhood had been en-

† p 583.

• The author has not been able to procure it.

1808.

creasing from the time of the triumphant restoration of Mr. Jacob to the commission. A number of Orangemen in military uniform, went into the country and cut a tree, which they brought into the town of Enniscorthy, and erected in the middle of the market-place; to the boughs of it they hung a figure dressed in green, with an inscription over its head, indicative of that magistrate, and his exertions to counteract oppression, outrage and licentiousness. The tree and figure remained undisturbed during the day; but at nightfall the mob collected a quantity of faggots, and placing them round it, set them on fire. A scene of riot and confusion ensued, in which many were severely, none mortally wounded. This notorious outrage upon the popular feeling was neither examined into, discountenanced nor † punished by Government.

† The countenancing and rewarding of Orange delinquency was not peculiar to the Richmond administration. Even under the conciliatory Lord Hardwicke, who, as an English Militia colonel, did, in 1799, forbid his men to become members of, or to attend Orange lodges, which were formed for party and other mischievous purposes, (vide Introduction, p. 117), the following occurrence took place. On the 12th of July 1802, the Orangemen of Kevin-street and its neighbourhood paraded the streets, and, as was their annual custom on that day, committed various acts of outrage and insult. On the 14th of the same month some boys decorated the fountain in Kevin-street with green boughs, which act was supposed, or interpreted to have been done in commemoration of the French federation. In the evening were assembled round a bonfire numbers of persons, principally women and children. On a sudden they were attacked

At the Summer Assizes of this year, one Bell, an Orangeman, and serjeant of a yeomanry corps, was convicted at Enniskillen, for having barbarously murdered a poor man, who was a Catholic, in the neighbourhood of Portadown, where he was executed in pursuance of his sentence. He had ever been a conspicuous and active member of the Orange Societies, and had, since his conviction, openly declared, that it was not in the power of the law to inflict the punishment. That declaration put the armed Orangemen in his neighbourhood into a determined preparation to effect his rescue. So formidable, indeed, were their movements, that Major Blacket, the High Sheriff, etc.

1808.

\* Instances of Government favour to Orangemen.

by five Orange yeomen, who fired a volley, by which several were wounded, and one man, *Thomas Ryan*, shot through the brain: he was a young man of excellent character, in the employment of Alderman (now Sir William) Stamer, and was on his return from his work. Four of the persons, who had fired were taken within two days. The fifth (one Sheil a nailor) a notorious offender in every line of atrocity, fled into the country, but was, in the course of some months after, apprehended at Navan. They were all tried together: the jury acquitted all the prisoners but Sheil, against whom several rankly aggravating circumstances were proved. The jury were dismissed at the verge of the county. He (Sheil) was tried at the ensuing Commission of Oyer and Terminer, and almost instantly acquitted, although it had been clearly proved, that he had boasted of the crime. During the long confinement of this ruffian, he was well and newly clad, and supported by his Orange brothers. The evidence against him on his second trial was irrefragable. Having, however, been acquitted by an Orange jury, in a short time he was appointed guard to one of the mail coaches. He was a favoured protégé of Sir John White,



1808.

ported his apprehensions to Government, who found it necessary to supply him with 500 of the 90th regiment, a troop of the Enniskillen Dragoons, and a detachment of the Royal Artillery, with three pieces of flying ordnance, to attend the execution of this Orange ruffian. Above eleven hundred Orange yeomen, in arms, were assembled on the day of execution, in the neighbourhood, prepared to rescue him. No attempt, however, of that nature was made. The commanders of the Orange corps indignantly muttered their complaints, that Government should interfere in a business, which belonged exclusively to the magistracy of the county. This daring armed insurgency of Orangemen against public justice and authority, was permitted to pass over without examination, reprehension, or punishment\*. It was on the 12th of this same month of August, on which was made, at Omagh, the dastardly attack by three hundred armed Orange yeomen on fifty unarmed men of the King's county militia, who had volunteered into the line, as they were marching from Strabane.\* At Mountrath, the annual return of the Orange festival, in July, 1808, had been disgraced by the most atrocious murder of the Rev. Mr. Duane, the Catholic priest of that parish; and it was followed up in the succeeding year by the no less barbarous murder of a

\* Would such audacious and alarming conduct in any other part of the population of Ireland have been overlooked, or would arms have been left in their possession?

† For particulars of which see the Introduction, p. 137.

Catholic of the name of Kavanagh, into whose house the armed yeomen rushed, and barbarously fractured his skull, in the presence of his wife and four infant children. On the first day of this same July, at Baileborough, in the county of Cavan, the Orange armed yeomen went in a body to the house of the parish priest, at whom they fired several shots, and left him for dead. They then racked the chapel, and wounded and insulted every Catholic they met. To this very hour, none of the offenders at Mountrath or Baileborough are known to have to have been questioned or punished.

1809.

As the summer advanced, his Grace of Richmond had it in contemplation to make a vice-regal tour through the province of Munster, and it appears by his conduct at the different galas, which he honoured with his presence, that he undertook it with a predetermination of ingratiating himself with the Catholics of that province, who are numerous, and many of them opulent. The town of Bandon has been immemorially recognized for its acrimony to Catholics, and Lord Bandon had been hitherto considered as a prominent supporter of Orangemen. It is uncertain, whether or no his lordship's principles had undergone any latter change, or that he wished, or had been instructed to prepare a hearty reception for the Lord Lieutenant among the Catholics of Cork, for discountenancing the Orangemen. On the first of July all the yeomenry corps of Bandon being assembled, according to custom, instead of an order for a *feu de joye*, they received an address from their com-

Defection of  
the Bandon  
Orangemen  
and the con-  
sequences.

1809.

mander, the Earl of Bandon, who admonished them to return peaceably to their homes, and put an end to all insulting and foolish party distinctions. That it was the particular injunction of Government, that nothing of the kind should be indulged in *on the present occasion*; and that such exhibitions were but poor manifestations of their sense of loyalty. He told them that, above all, as they were a body, they should obey the command of their officers; and that if they were disposed to preserve the remembrance of those heart-burning, intemperate, and foolish distinctions, they should do it as individuals, and not as a collective body, which might give it the appearance of *being sanctioned by Government*. The men were extremely indignant, and suddenly dispersed. They were particularly incensed against Mr. Kingston, a respectable gentleman of that town, and a leading officer in the corps, who had made himself active in opposing their clamour and intemperance. On that night, a shot was fired into a bed-chamber of this gentleman's house, from which a young lady, who slept in it, had a very narrow escape. A reward of £555 was offered by some of the most respectable inhabitants, at the head of whom was Lord Bandon, for the discovery or apprehension of the perpetrator of this outrage. On the 6th of July, being the first parade day after their anniversary, the corps assembled again, but instead of following the advice of their commanding officer, all the privates appeared decorated with yellow lillies, and seemed determined to oppose the com-



1809.

mands of their officers. The Earl of Bandon and Colonel Oriel, the inspecting officer of the district observed, that if they wished to be considered really obedient and loyal, they would attend to the orders of their officers, as government seemed particularly anxious to prevent the further wearing of any emblem of this kind. They then ordered them, either to take these marks of distinction down, or else to ground their arms. The corps for some time remained undecisive, when at length, with the exception of 25, they indignantly threw down their arms and accoutrements, sooner than obey the commands of government delivered through their officer. The whole Yeomanry of Bandon amounted to about 600 men. On the 24th of July 1809, the members composing the Boyne, Union, and True Blues corps of Yeomanry, under the denomination of the Loyal Bandon Legion, openly declared the cause, for which they laid down their arms. On all former occasions, Colonel Oriel, in common with his predecessors, had bestowed the greatest praise on the Legion, for its high state of discipline and military appearance; but being stimulated by some of the officers of the Legion, he had entirely altered his tone, reprobating in the most insulting terms, and in the most degrading, reproachful, and mortifying language, the wearing of that lilly, as a badge of cowardice, crying down the Revolution under the degrading suggestion, that their forefathers had beaten down a few unfortunate men above an hundred years ago, whom they wanted to trample on

1809.

again, and declared, that although they wore those *insignia* in their corps, they might have the United Irishman's oath in their pockets; and that it was not safe to go into the field with such men. Their feelings they insisted, were to be respected, as well as others. They would not serve as Yeomanry under any officers, who were either afraid or ashamed to wear an Orange billy on their grand festival. Their declaration was applauded by their confederates the Orangemen of Cork, who in their eagerness to uphold the Protestant ascendancy assured them, that they were willing to concur most heartily in any arrangement, which might have for its object a full and constitutional investigation of that transaction. Throughout the whole route of the Viceroy's excursion this Summer were similar orders given and enforced, to check the insulting exhibition of the Orange *insignia*. But no where was the enforcing of the order attended with such serious consequences as at Bandon. No wonder, that the Yeomen discredited Colonel Oriel, when he declared the sincere anxiety of that government to put down Orangeism in 1809, which immediately after the restrictions put upon its external badges by the Duke of Bedford, had permitted, or rather encouraged them in 1807 and 1808. The bait took with many of the Catholics. Long privation is apt to engender voracious credulity.

Catholics  
resolve to  
petition.

The Summer of this year (1809) passed over without any event of great national importance to Ireland. The Catholics did not absolutely sleep over their claims. The Sub-Committee met in

1809.

Dublin on the 11th of July, and after having considered their duties and powers (Lord Fingal in the Chair), they unanimously resolved to call a meeting of the General Committee for various purposes\* of efficient regulation. Several intermediate movements in Dublin and the country ended in a general meeting of the Catholics in Cork on the 1st, and of the General Committee in Dublin on the 8th of November, both of which were unanimous for petitioning. Perfect harmony prevailed in Dublin, and a Committee† was appointed to revise the draft of the petition prepared by the Sub-Committee, which in its revised form was to be reported to the General Committee on the following Monday. That Committee sat from day to day for the purpose of carrying into effect the resolutions passed at the last general meeting of the Catholics of Ireland. It was the unani-

\* These were :

1. To receive a report upon the ballot for the Sub-committee had on the 5th of July.

2. To consider the propriety of accepting resignations from members who, from absence or ill health, declined, or shall decline to act.

3. To determine upon the number, which shall constitute a quorum of the Sub committee.

4. To consider of the regulations respecting the receipt and application of the subscriptions.

And generally, to consider such other measures as shall tend to render the Sub-committee efficient and useful.

† The following persons were appointed the committee on that occasion. Earl of Fingal, Mr. Scully, Mr. O'Gorman, Mr. O'Connell, Mr. Nangle, Mr. Hussey, and Doctor Sheridan.



1809.

Viceregal  
tour into  
Munster,  
and con-  
duct.

mous feeling of the whole body throughout Ireland to petition Parliament for the total and unconditional removal of all their disabilities.

The Viceroy in his progress through the province of Munster rendered himself more, than usually affable and urbane. He made public professions, which accorded neither with his antecedent or subsequent conduct. Such momentary deception could answer no solid political purpose. At the entertainment given by the Corporation at Waterford to the Lord Lieutenant, his Grace's affability and attention to all were conspicuous. He took an opportunity of addressing Dr. Power the Catholic Bishop of Waterford, whom in a gracious and cordial stile he thanked for his and his flock's conduct in putting down the disturbances in their county. He openly and distinctly assured him, that he had it in special instructions from his Majesty to make no distinction between Protestant and Catholic, which injunction he emphatically declared he had punctiliously complied with ever since he had undertaken the government of the country, as far as the laws would allow of. Those laws, he lamented it was not in his power to deviate from. Such was the travelling stile of the Viceregal Court. At the dinner given to his Grace by the Mayor and Corporation of Cork at the Mansion House, amongst the regular Corporation toasts, was announced in its order the *Protestant ascendancy of Ireland*, on which his Grace arose, and declared, he wished to see no ascendancy in Ireland, but that of loyalty; and strongly recom-

1809.

mended the same line of conduct to be pursued by all good subjects. He regretted, that the laws did not enable him to extend equal privileges to all; but as far, as there was a possibility of serving the Roman Catholics, he observed no distinction between the Catholic and Protestant. At the dinner given to his Grace at Cork by the Merchants, Traders, and Bankers, he descanted more warmly, than he had at the Mansion House upon the liberality of his own disposition and conduct. Although necessitated to act according to the letter of the existing laws, he was influenced by the sincerest wishes to make the asperity of the laws bear as lightly as possible upon those, whom they affected, and to render his conduct towards the Catholics perfectly conciliatory, in order to promote union and harmony amongst all his Majesty's subjects. He observed (what was new to most of his hearers), that in nominating to those offices, for which the Catholics were eligible, he had never made any distinction between Catholic and Protestant. After dinner, his Grace melted into the Apostle, and fervently wondered, why in a religious pursuit, after a paramount object of eternal concern, men should be excited to rancorous and vile enmity, because they sought the same end by means inessentially different. These sentiments delivered in a manly and emphatic manner, raised in the minds of his sympathetic hearers new confidence and esteem. At Limerick their Excellencies graciously visited and admired the hanging gardens of Mr. Roche the Catholic Banker; the

1809.

Duke cordially shook him by the hand, emphatically reiterated the Cork exhortation, and offered to imprint upon him a more lasting than parol proof of his indiscriminate beneficence by conferring on him the honor of knighthood, which Mr. Roche declined.

National  
observa-  
tions and  
feelings  
upon the  
events of  
the year.

Notwithstanding the privations, proscription, and degradation of Ireland, she could not be blind or insensible to the eventful incidents of the year. Ireland formed an ample third of the Empire, and contributed more, than her numerical proportion to the means of executing the ill-fated speculations of the most imbecile of ministers. Though doomed never to be bettered by *gain*, she was neither secured nor indemnified against *loss*. The feelings of millions were interested in the fates of the many thousand brave, loyal, and spirited Irishmen, who risked their lives upon unequal terms with their fellow subjects. Forced political apathy, from being unconcerned in the management of her own children, could not extinguish native anguish at their being committed to the unnatural tuition of those, who boasted of the policy of dividing, weakening, and reducing their numbers. The Irish were engaged in viewing the efforts of their countrymen in glory and disaster, as children are amused by magic shades, that represent with equal distinctness and evanescence the trophies of the hero, and the horrors of the murderer. To their view were successively represented, as foreign stories to the beardless youth, the parliamentary exposure and justification of abuse and corruption in



the army, the finance, and the return of members to the House of Commons, the waste of bravery and perseverance in the retreat and fall of the gallant Moore off Corunna, the lamentable and useless victory of Talavera engraved in the blood of the conquerors, the disgraceful failure and more shameful approbation of the Walcheren expedition, the school-boy bickerings of the Cabinet Ministers, their shaking hands and making up their quarrels, till they should have accomplished their projected mischief, the settling of the rectitude of the Imperial Councils by Mr. Canning and Lord Castlereagh's shooting four times at each other, their throwing by contradictory statements, the distraction of his Majesty's Cabinet on the duplicity, stupidity, and negligence of the Duke of Portland, and Lords Westmoreland and Camden; their mutual charges and recriminations: the simultaneous disapprobation and advice of important State measures by sworn Privy Counsellors: the Duke of Portland's tender of resignation from ill health, and the consequent application from Lord Liverpool and Mr. Perceval to Lords Grey and Grenville to communicate with them for the purpose of forming an extended and combined administration; Lord Grey's declining to quit Northumberland for the purpose of coalescing with them; Lord Grenville's arrival in London from Cornwall, though equally declining the coalition: the embarrassment of the genuine supporters \* of

\* They were, Lord Eldon, Earl of Chatham, Earl Bathurst, Mr. Perceval, Earl of Harrowby, Lord Mulgrave, and Earl of

1809.

the system to fill the places of the retiring Duke, and the resigning duellists, with their respective friends the Earls of Westmoreland, Camden, and Lord Levison Gower, relieved by the recall of the Marquis Wellesley from his embassy to the Spanish Junta at Cadiz, whence after having repeatedly toasted the Pope, he returned to take a leading part in the *No Popery* administration of his own country.

The Jubilee  
at Dublin.

The tragi-comic exhibition of such achievements excited in a sensitive and penetrating people some of the worst emotions of human passion, astonishment, contempt, despair, and indignation. They were attempted to be diverted and soothed by the pageantry of a Jubilee for the King's having entered upon the fiftieth year of a reign, during which the British Empire had suffered and lost more, than she had done since Ireland had made a part of it. One day of external Jubilee, which (barring the ostentatious liberation of some small debtors and petty Crown defaulters) was but a tantalizing display of monopolized luxury, tended rather to fester, than heal \* the wounds of a proscribed and Liverpool. Mr. Perceval's letter of the 20th September 1809 to Lord Grenville upon this subject, shews how little *principle* was thought of or required by these *conscientious recruiters* for Cabinet service. "In proposing to your Lordship and Lord Grey, &c. no idea existed in our minds of the necessity of any dereliction of public principle of either side." What honest advice must not his Majesty receive from those sworn counsellors, who recommend and support measures contrary to their own principles.

\* The author was in Dublin on the day, on which the Jubilee was there celebrated. He never witnessed a greater or more

distressed people. In Dublin, the partakers of Royal bounty manifested their grateful attachment 1809.

quiet mob. He did not read the sympathy of exultation on every countenance. Various printed papers had been for some days previously handed about, left under doors, or sent by the post to many expressive of the little reason the nation had to rejoice. He selects one out of several, which he fears but too truly anticipated the feelings of many.

**" TO THE ROMAN CATHOLICS OF IRELAND.**

" Now is the opportunity, ye Catholic millions, to shew your grateful loyalty; to prove to those ignorant calumniators, who tax you with discontent and disaffection, that you are satisfied with your lot; that no indignant feeling of oppression or injustice, exists in your bosoms. Hail with rapture the 50th anniversary of that Monarch's accession, who, with liberal wisdom, has permitted you to exist, nay, to multiply, and fatten, in your native land, who has repealed those dreadful laws, which poisoned the cup of your domestic peace, and prompted the violation of every social tie, which made your holy religion a crime, and its minister a felon; which rewarded the wicked, and punished with unrelenting cruelty the innocent and the good, which would have changed, by their operation the generous nature of Irishmen, and transformed their ill-fated Erin, from an " island of saints" to an island of demons. Celebrate the accession of a King, who has done all this, and who, you know, has done it freely and spontaneously, unpressed by foreign or domestic dangers, unawed by the Irish volunteer or American rifleman.

" Let not your Jubilee be clouded by any intrusive feeling that you still are slaves; that the hand of oppression is still upon you; that you yet are aliens in your native land. While you look on those illuminated edifices, that adorn your metropolis, your castle, your courts of justice, your bank, your college, your custom house, remember not, that within their walls there is no place for you, of honor, of power, or emolument. Forget, that



1809.

to the system by treating the people with splendid illuminations, and themselves with the choicest luxuries and festivities of the table. The example of the capital was followed by the great towns in the country: throughout Ireland incredible crowds were drawn together, and dispersed without a shade of tumultuary or riotous disposition. His Majesty's predilection for Ireland was singularly manifested by a happy selection of some of her most liberal, enlightened, and patriotic Statemen, to close the *hiatus* in the Cabinet, and rivet the shivered vessel for temporary use. It was a base, though practical axiom with the system, that in torturing and aggravating the Irish people, the Irish renegado was ever the most forward, inventive, and indefatigable. Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning had by their Cabinet duel rendered

sentence has been passed upon you, of perpetual degradation; that you are doomed for ever to be a subordinate race; that the wise and enlightened King, whose Jubilee you are summoned to celebrate, has himself told you so, and has declared, that this opinion he can never yield, because it is not the conclusion of a policy, that might vary, but the dictate of his conscience, which must be immutable.

“Ye Catholics of Ireland, if you can by some “oblivious antidote” thus purify your memory, then go forth and join in the Jubilee, and praise your benefactor; but if your generous hearts should beat with indignation at your privations and oppressions, be considerate enough to remain in your respective dwellings, nor damp, by your gloomy presence, the loyal festivities of Dr. Patrick Duignan, Mr. Giffard the apothecary, and that elegant assemblage of polite, enlightened, and meritorious Orangemen, who, no doubt, will attend the carousal, and revel in their train.”

themselves unworthy even of their former functions. The Marquis Wellesley was called to supply the wisdom and energy of his Grace of Portland in the Cabinet: Mr. Wellesley Pole from the Admiralty was brought into closer contact with his countrymen, and appointed to succeed Mr. Dundas as Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant: and in order to keep up a countervailing Irish influence in the naval department, Mr. Croker was put into the place of Mr. W. Pole at the Admiralty.

From this triumviral accession of Irish strength to the Government is to be traced a renovation of the *No Popery* system; it became more extended, more ferocious, more confident and determined. Opposition to Irish Catholicity was no longer the State anxiety, lest a Catholic people should be admitted to political power, but a fanatical crusade and malevolent persecution of Irishmen for performing the duties of the Catholic religion. In hatred of that religion, rather in execration of the *Irish practiser* of it, Ministers even rewarded their fanatic hirelings for usurping the rights of the Deity to interfere with conscience, for robbing the Creator of the homage and duties of his creature, for accepting and acting under commissions from the arch enemy of man to deprive the sincere Christian of the means of preparing his soul to appear before the grand tribunal\*.

1809.  
Malignant  
inveteracy  
of ministry  
against Ca-  
tholics,

\* This more than mortal malignity of refusing spiritual consolation to the departing Christian might have been expected

1809.

It required the malignity of a demon to intercept the intercourse of man with his Maker in the

from an Imperial decree of the apostate Julian, who affected to *hate* Christianity, which he had renounced. But shall it justify the sanctimonious Perceval, the pretender to evangelical purity, the *modern Olympius*, who advised his Sovereign to proscribe from his army and services all the talent and virtue possessed by Pagan, Arian, or other dissenter from the then established religion of the Empire? What shall bear him out in his monopoly of Christian consolation? Which chapter of the Christian code has instructed this new evangelizer to refuse to sanction by law the religious rights of his Majesty's native Catholic liege subjects, which are guaranteed by statute to his Catholic foreign mercenaries? What political sagacity, what human sympathy, what Christian charity inspire him to refuse to the native volunteer, the impressed or the swindled Catholic soldier, the opportunity of performing the very duties, which the Established Church holds out and directs as the last obligatory functions of the dying Christian. Every beneficed Protestant functionary clergyman of the establishment, declares in the face of his congregation, and in the presence of his God, whose minister he then announces himself to be, his *unfeigned consent and assent to and approbation* of the 39 articles, and the *Book of Common Prayer*, and every thing therein contained. There (in the visitation of the sick) the following direction and injunction are to be found.

"Here shall the sick person be moved to make a confession of his sins, if he feel his conscience troubled with any weighty matter. After which confession, the Priest shall absolve him (if he humbly and heartily desire it) after this sort: Our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath left power to his Church to absolve all sinners, who truly repent and believe in him, of his great mercy forgive thee thine offences; and by his authority committed to me, I absolve thee from all thy sins, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen." This was strongly put by Mr. C. Keogh in the last Aggregate Meeting of the 28th of May 1811. "What can these men say to the Irish militia-man in England, if they refuse to secure



1809.

cheering prospect of a blessed futurity. Numerous have been the instances under this *No Popery* administration, in which the spirit of persecution has fallen collectively and individually upon the soldiery. These acts of persecution have three qualities. In Ireland they are against positive law, the violation of which ought to be severely visited by Government. In Great Britain they are conformable with law, though contravening the express promises of Government, and therefore tending to let it down in the affection, confidence, and estimation of the people. In foreign parts, where there is neither legal allowance nor restriction, the commander's discretion regulates the intolerant instructions of a persecuting Cabinet. Numerous instances have occurred in Great Britain, in which Catholic soldiers have been compelled to attend the established worship against their consciences. They have been punished for refusing it, as well as for attending their own worship. A notable case has been recently brought under the consideration of the House of Commons. It had been somewhat aggravated, and Sir John Cox Hippesley, out of tenderness and attention

“ him in the exercise of his religion? They must say to him,  
“ Go to battle; go fight for the safety of the English people,  
“ and in defence of the British constitution; but remember, if  
“ you receive your death wound, you are not to expect the consolation of religion in your dying hour; the minister of the  
“ Gospel shall pass you by, as you lie gasping and expiring on  
“ the earth; he will go to administer the Sacrament to a German Catholic; but you are an Irishman, you shall not be  
“ reconciled to your God.”

1809.

to his Majesty's Ministers, set it to rights in the House. A Catholic artillery man at Woolwich for having refused to attend the Protestant service had been confined. Report added, that he had demanded and been refused a Court Martial, and had been then sent abroad. It turned out, that he had not demanded a Court Martial, nor had he been sent abroad. It was agreed, however, on all hands, that after having been confined for 10 days for his refusal to go to Church, he was released without reprimand. Nothing could more irrefragably prove the vice and inconsistency of the system, than such severe punishment of an act, that deserved not even a reprimand.

Same sub-  
ject conti-  
nued.

In Ireland, where the law admits the Catholic into the military service, and allows him the free exercise of his religion, several punishments were inflicted on Catholics for refusing to go to the established service, as at Enniskillen; others were effectually prevented from attending the service of their own Church by an order not to quit the Barracks till two o'clock on the Sunday, when the Catholic service was over, as at Newry. The recent case, which acquired the most publicity, and produced the strongest effect upon Ireland, was that of Patrick Spence, a private in the county Dublin militia, who had been required (though known to be a Catholic) to attend the divine service of the Established Church, and upon refusal, was thrown into the Black Hole. During his imprisonment, he wrote a letter to Major White, his commanding officer, urging, that in obeying the

1809.

paramount dictates of conscience, he had in no manner broken in upon military discipline. He was shortly after brought to a Court Martial, upon a charge, that his letter was disrespectful, and had a mutinous tendency. He was convicted, and sentenced to receive 999 lashes. Upon being brought out to undergo that punishment, an offer was made to him to commute it for an engagement to enlist in a corps constantly serving abroad; this he accepted, and was transmitted to the Isle of Wight, in order to be sent out of the kingdom to join a condemned regiment. The case having been represented to the Lord Lieutenant by Doctor Troy the titular Archbishop of Dublin, Mr. W. Pole wrote him a letter, which stated, that the sentence had been passed upon Spence for writing the disrespectful letter; not denying (therefore admitting) that the committal to the Black Hole was for the refusal to attend the Protestant Church; but that under all the circumstances, the Commander in Chief had considered the punishment excessive, and had ordered the man to be liberated and to join his regiment. When Spence arrived in Dublin, he was confined several days, and then discharged altogether from the army. The copy of Spence's letter, which he vouches to be authentic, contained nothing in it either disrespectful or mutinous. The original letter has been often called for, and always refused by those, who have it in their possession; and may consequently by its production determine the justice of the sentence of 999 lashes. It is material, that Ireland should



1809.

know, that no investigation or punishment followed the incarceration of the artillery man at Woolwich; that Major White has never been reprimanded, or otherwise punished for the affair of Spence: that Lieutenant Walsh was removed to a more agreeable and lucrative situation after he had turned a Catholic soldier's coat at Enniskillen, for having attended a Catholic Chapel, which the law allowed of.

Conduct of  
the govern-  
ment to the  
Catholic  
soldiery.

As the direction and management of the vast powers of the British Empire have (perhaps for the sins of the people) been permitted to fall into the hands of those, who want wisdom, talent, and virtue to wield them; as Catholic Ireland supplies above one half of the armies, which have been lately sent to the Continent, the instructions relative to religion sent out with the commanders, and the consequent spirit and system, that have pervaded the British forces in every part of the Continent emphatically affect the history of the Irish people. Nothing can more ferociously sharpen the ordinary calamity of war, than the profanation and spoliation of the enemy's altars; nor can any thing more powerfully gain the confidence of a subdued or confederated people, than respect and protection to their religion; especially if it vary from that of the conqueror or the ally. The irritation of the enemy at Buenos Ayres, which excited the spirited and successful resistance to our second visit is generally understood to have originated more from insult and mockery at their processions and other religious ceremonies,

than from disregard to private property, or rapacious lust for pelf. Several of the privates returned from the campaigns of Spain and Portugal, have brought home and exposed to public sale, chalices, ciboriums, pattens of the precious metals, and other valuable church utensils and ornaments well known in Catholic countries to be either exposed in churches or deposited in their sacristies. They must have been sacred spoil taken, possibly from the enemy, probably from the ally. When a British force first reached Portugal under Sir John Moore, whence it penetrated into Spain, above one \* half of the privates consisted of Irish Catholics. If public rumour be to be credited, the Catholic soldiery were not allowed publicly to attend mass, which there was the only service performed in the churches, and a formal proposal from Dr. Crottie, the superior of an Irish ecclesiastical establishment at Lisbon, to send two of his priests without pay or salary with the Irish army into Spain, who besides administering spiritual comfort to their Catholic countrymen, would also act as interpreters to the army, was refused by a council of war, against the strong

1809.

\* This proposition is the more confidently asserted upon the knowledge, which it behoves the Irish public, particularly to attend to: that there is not in the whole Irish militia one Catholic field-officer. That on the militia's volunteering, it is in the power of the commanding-officer, who is usually the lieutenant-colonel of the regiment, to prevent any individual from volunteering; and that in fact few or no protestants have latterly been permitted to volunteer for the line.

1590.

recommendation of Sir John Moore, who from long and honorable service in Ireland, well knew how to appreciate the exercise of religion by the Catholic soldier. These extravagant reports afterwards gained credit with all, who became acquainted with the conduct of Sir John Stuart to his Catholic soldjers in Sicily. He was providentially driven to the necessity of defending his conduct by pleading the orders of the British cabinet, under the vague and insidious description of *certain principles of a general nature.*\*

\* Upon matter so important, so interesting and so incredible in the present situation of the British Empire and the world, the author submits the subjoined document to his readers without comment. The late Dr. Betagh (his funeral last April attended by above 10,000 persons, marked the credit and estimation, in which he had lived for above 30 years in Dublin) assured the author of the genuiness of the extract from his letter, and spoke highly of the veracity and respectability of the writer.

Palermo, January 15, 1810.

\* \* \* \* \*

" Shortly after my arrival here, I heard, that amongst the British military stationed at Melazzo and Messina there were many Irish Catholics, who very often sought in vain for a Priest, whom they could *understand*: that their regret on being deprived of the use of the Sacraments was much encreased by seeing their companions expire in a Catholic country without any kind of spiritual aid. As my reverend friend and I were already desirous of visiting the other end of this island, which indeed presents more objects of curiosity and antiquity, than are to be found in the capital or its vicinity, we thought we could not spend a vacation better, than in paying a visit to those places, where (should our assistance be required) we resolved to sacrifice scientific taste and curiosity to the spiritual good of our countrymen and brethren in faith. That we, however, might do good



These certain (fanatical) principles must have also emanated from the British cabinet of intolerance

1809.

without giving offence to any one, I was desirous to know from some one of those Catholics, whether the case really was, as I had been informed, and not being able to learn, that there was amongst them any one in rank superior to a serjeant, I wrote to one, of whom I had heard a very good character, who rejoiced to find in the island a Priest who, could speak the English language, and wrote to me the most pressing invitation, or rather supplication, to visit that corner of the island, though it were but for a short time, assuring me, that many would avail themselves of such an opportunity (as the serjeant sensibly expressed it) of making their peace with God, assuring me on the other hand, in answer to my enquiries, that they enjoyed full liberty of going to our churches at leisure hours, and that he was sure their officers, so far from putting any obstacle to that EXERCISE OF THEIR RELIGIOUS DUTIES THAT ON THE CONTRARY, THEY SAW REDUCED TO PRACTICE THE FAITH WHICH, THEY BELIEVED and openly professed. This determined us, and, though with great difficulty, we obtained leave to be absent from College for one month. We arrived at Melazzo on the 26th September, accompanied by a Sicilian Clergyman, who was destined to join other companies already arrived at an inland town in the adjoining country. We were kindly received by the Archpriest, to whom we presented the Archbishop of Messina's letter, containing ample powers for the exercise of our Ministry, as also by the Governor of the town, to whom we were highly recommended by many of his friends at Palermo, and by their means obtained in this little crowded town three rooms in a small house occupied by a congregation of secular Priests, which had a small church annexed to it. To this humble lodging and little church many poor soldiers had recourse to receive from us those spiritual blessings which no other priest could give. We had scarcely appeared in the town when they learned, that we could speak English; this was all they knew, and all they wanted to know about us, and their lively faith required nothing more to inspire them with the good resolution of approaching the Sacraments and leading henceforward that christian and regular life, which men unaided

1869. and followed our armies wherever Catholic Irish soldiers have carried, as they still triumphantly

by religion never lead. We found there the 27th, called the Enniskillen Regiment, commanded by the truly noble and ever to be esteemed Earl of Moira — The Catholics in it are so numerous, that it may be justly called a Catholic regiment. In the 58th, though called an English regiment, the greater number are Irish Catholics. — A great many are also to be found among the 62d, a part of which occupied the promontory of Melazza. We had the consolation of seeing many of the privates, of the 27th particularly, go through the duties of their religion with great zeal and piety. They lay nearest to us. Non-commissioned officers and privates flocked to us in abundance. Some, no doubt, exhibited greater zeal than others, nor is this much to be wondered at by any reasonable mind, when you take into consideration the following distressing and deplorable fact: though the law opens the army to Catholics, even as I am told to the rank of Major, yet on foreign service they are considered by their military superiors, as if no such law existed in their favour, they are obliged to assist at Divine Service, read to them by a Protestant chaplain, they are obliged to be married by the same chaplain; but at the hour of their death this persecution ceases, and the dying Catholic soldier is not refused the consoling ministry of his Catholic clergyman. I must inform you, that so cautious were we not to give the shadow of offence, that we never allowed them to assemble either publicly or privately, nor never gave any sermon, nor even instruction, but in confession, where we uniformly exhorted them (as it is the duty of the Priest) to regularity, strict obedience, and fidelity in the discharge of their respective duties. We never went either to the houses or the barracks of those excellent men, for whom we were thus performing the offices of our ministry, when Sir John Stuart, the Commander in Chief, sent an order from Messina to the Commanding Officer at Melazzo, to procure our immediate departure. This was communicated to the civil magistrate, called, *Il Capitano De Giustizia*, who, shocked at the proceeding, was very unwilling to execute the commission; fearing, however,

bear, British arms on the Continent. Is such fanatic persecution the fit meed of Irish loyalty, prowess and perseverance? 1810.

the force of English arms, they came to us, making a thousand apologies for intimating an order, for which none saw either rule or reason—the clergy, the people, ALL felt indignant. On being informed by the Commanding Officer of the source whence the order came, for we went to expostulate with him on a subject so highly interesting to our character and our right, we set off for Messina to present ourselves to Sir John Stuart, ready to give him every account of our persons, and refute every calumny, that might have been advanced against us—We first waited on General Doruro, governor of the city, the first personage there on the part of the King, begging of him to acquaint Sir John with the cause of our arrival, and to obtain for us an audience; this he kindly undertook, but Sir John Stuart would *not* see us, and persisted in his request, or rather sent a new order to the governor, to send us even from Messina, with a prohibition to approach wherever the British troops were quartered.—After much remonstrance through the medium of Sir John Stuart's first secretary, we obtained the annexed declaration, or certificate written by Sir John's order, and in his name, which justifies our conduct, and leaves him, in my opinion, without a sensible reply or excuse." This is called the declaration of Sir John Stuart, it is addressed to the writer of the above letter and his friend, who is also a Catholic clergyman."

*Messina, Oct. 12, 1809.*

GENTLEMEN,

In consequence of your application to the Commander of the Forces on the subject of the motives, which may have induced him to have it intimated to you, through the means of General Doruro, governor of this place, that it was his intention, that you should not reside in any of the garrisons or ports occupied by the British troops in this island, I am directed by his Excellency to acquaint you, that this measure has not been prompted, on his part, on account of any grounds of complaint, which may have appeared before him, against either your private proceed-



1810.

The 5th resolution of the English Roman Catholics.

No ingenuity can disguise, no hebetude mistake the concurrence of the following circumstances within the last fortnight of the month of January 1810: namely the official communication of the letter from the Secretary of the *Board of Catholics of Great Britain* to the accredited Secretary of the Catholic Committee in Dublin: the publication of Lord Grenville's letter to Lord Fingal: the private circulation amongst the English Catholics of the form of a proposed resolution dictated by Lord Grenville and written by Lord Grey, to the following effect: "The Catholics are ready, whenever a liberal and enlarged system shall be adopted, to enter into any arrangement consistent with their faith and discipline, which may be required of them, for securing the loyalty of persons to be raised to the rank and office of Bishops." This having been dropt, the following resolution was framed by way of substitute, and adopted at a meeting of English Roman Catholics at the St. Alban's Tavern, London, on the first of February 1810. "5th. That the English Roman Catholics, in soliciting the attention of Parliament to their petition, are actuated, not more by a sense of the hardships and disabilities, under which they labour, than by a desire to secure, on the most solid foundation, the

ings or personal character, but that, in so doing, he has merely acted UPON CERTAIN PRINCIPLES OF A GENERAL NATURE.

I have the honor to be, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient humble servant,

F. H. DEHADE, Military Sec.

peace and harmony of the British Empire; and to obtain for themselves opportunities of manifesting, by the most active exertions, their zeal and interest in the common cause, in which their country is engaged, for the maintenance of its freedom and independance, and that they are firmly persuaded, that adequate provision for the maintenance of the civil and religious establishments of this kingdom may be made, consistently with the strictest adherence, on their part, to the tenets and discipline of the Roman Catholic religion: and that any arrangement founded on this basis of mutual satisfaction and security, and extending to them the full enjoyment of the civil constitution of their country, will meet with their grateful concurrence."

A re-adoption of this resolution was inserted in a rider \* to the petition of the English Catholics to the legislature. It was matter of notoriety, that the Irish Catholic clergy and laity were determinately hostile to any Royal Veto positive or negative: to any species of state interference or controul in the appointment or confirmation of their bishops.

The *Veto-men* of England were chiefly, if not exclusively confined to those, who had established the *Board of Catholics of Great Britain*, and had

Intrigue of  
the board of  
Catholics of  
Gt. Britain.

\* That was signed by 5 Bishops (not by Bishop Milner) 6 Peers, and about 200 of the principal Catholic gentry and clergy: the petition was signed by the 4 Apostolic Vicars and 2 coadjutors, 8 peers, 13 baronets, above 8000 gentlemen and others including 300 clergymen.

1810.

assumed the management of their concerns. The reason for introducing a reference to the proceedings of the English Catholics into the History of Ireland is the printed declaration of that *Veto* gentleman so prominently brought forward in Sir J. C. Hippenley's late speech, (on the 28th of May 1811,) "that he had several conferences with Lords Grey and Grenville, at which the different forms of the 5th of the English Roman Catholic's resolutions were framed: and he invokes the parties present to testify, that he and they were most anxious to frame the resolution in such terms as should not be thought objectionable to *you*" (his correspondent being a Catholic Irish gentleman, he thereby meant the Irish Catholic laity,) "or *your venerable prelates*." This 5th resolution of the English Roman Catholics was frivolous, insulting, or captious. Frivolous (as to Ireland,) if the subject matter of it did not affect the rights or interests of the Irish Catholic clergy, or laity; insulting, if it did; for they, who profess not to be the people, much less the Irish people, ought not to pretend to negotiate for, barter, or controul the rights or interests of a people and an hierarchy. The deceitful generality and redundancy of the resolution is obviously calculated to commit the greater part of those, who entered into it, as contracting parties, to answer some future demands or obligations, which are neither specified nor suggested: which are left open to future construction without, settling, by which of the contracting parties they are to be made: the terms of



1810.

which are either nugatory pleonasm or moral impossibility. Every arrangement founded on mutual satisfaction and security must be between certain contracting parties. Here they are not ascertained; and if they were, who can secure loyalty beyond the oath of a christian? Who can subject the rights and duties of conscience to human contract? Between contracting parties, there must be that equality, which enables each to enforce the breach against the violator. How were the English Catholics to enforce the breach of contract against either the Sovereign or his Ministers? The King cannot be questioned, for he can do no wrong. The Ministers need not be questioned; they take refuge under the King's conscience: and the keeper of that conscience is no responsible Minister of the executive functions of Government. Whence then this tender overweening anxiety for the Irish Catholic clergy and laity in fabricating a resolution of an insignificant party in England, having no other relations to Ireland, than conformity of religious creed and common ligeance to the same sovereign. Let the truth be manfully avowed: and it will be evident, that the primary and ultimate object of those, who imagined this insidious resolution, was to foreclose the contracting parties from future rights to resist any state interference in the nomination or collation of spiritual jurisdiction in the government of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland.

The various events of the preceding year tended to draw the body of Irish Catholics into more

*Decline of  
the Veto in  
Ireland.*

1810.

compact unanimity, than they had for some years experienced. The few, who still retained a secret hankering after the *Veto*, declined openly to support the measure against the decided condemnation of it by the respectable body of the Irish prelacy in Synod assembled. They secretly leagued with a party of English Catholics, who were sanguine, indefatigable and clandestine abettors of the *Veto* :\* but in as much as it was known to

\* It appears, that the leading abettors of the *Veto* in England aimed at views far beyond those of its open or even secret supporters in Ireland: namely to shake off their dependence upon the See of Rome, and establish national bishops, not drawing their jurisdiction from the christian primate, but in the manner of the reformed English bishops under and from Henry VIII. downward: and according to the Jansenistical doctrines of Utrecht. They are those gentlemen (with some subaltern Neophytes), who in 1791 were defeated in their attempt under the new firm of *protesting Catholic Dissenters*, to throw off their spiritual subjection to the Apostolical Vicars in England. These are the gentlemen, whom the late Mr. Burke assured the author, he considered as having gone more than half way over to Protestantism, and he waited with extended arms to give them the fraternal embrace, once they should have crossed the line. This was said to the author by the late Mr. Edmund Burke in a conversation of about 3 hours, which the author had with him at his house in Duke-street, St. James's, London, relative to the then pending disputes and differences between the gentlemen of the Catholic committee and the Vicars Apostolic: at which Sir Henry Tichborne, Bart. was present, and to his memory and testimony the author appeals for the truth of what he advances. The influence of the English *Vetoists* upon some of the supposed parliamentary friends of the Catholic cause has been very recently manifested in the House of Commons, by the amphibious speech of Sir John C. Hippesley, on the 31st of May, 1811. He spoke immediately after Mr. Grattan, but is not reported to have seconded his motion for referring the Catholic pe-

be also condemned and reprobated by the clergy, and the more numerous and sound part of the

1810.

tion to a committee of the whole House. The speech, with which that brilliant and patriotic orator ushered in his motion, was the most luminous and most closely argued, that ever came from his lips; often as the Catholic question has been the theme of his transcendent powers. In giving the following extract from Sir J. C. Hippesley's speech (he is the boasted parent of the *Veto*;) we borrow from future history conclusive evidence of a preconcerted extensively, clandestinely, and artfully supported plan to subject the proscribed Roman Catholic to Geo. III. precisely as his reformed ancestor was to Henry VIII.

“ He would next beg to allude to the proceedings at meetings of Catholic noblemen and gentlemen, in England, which shewed the nature of the original question proposed to the different Universities. The proceedings, however, were best expressed in a letter addressed to him by Mr. Charles Butler, against whom Dr. Milner had, within the course of a few days, printed in Dublin as foul a libel, as ever issued from the press. In one of the works lately published, a Right Honourable Gentleman declared, that the answer to that important question depended upon Mr. Hussey, a Roman Catholic Priest: but he was authorised to say, that he was never employed by those Noblemen and Gentlemen to procure the answer, for he was confidentially employed by Lord North, in 1780. The Hon. Baronet then proceeded to read a letter from Mr. Butler, shewing the circumstances under which the opinions of the foreign Universities of Paris, Douay, Louvaine, Valladolid, Alcala, and Salamanca, were to be applied for and obtained, by the late Dr. Hussey having been sent to Rome, to explain to the Pope the real state of the Catholics of this country. This project, however, was afterwards abandoned; but not till Dr. Hussey's instructions were framed and delivered to him. He also read the proceedings of the committee of English Catholics in 1791 and 1792, composed of Lord Stourton, Lord Petre, Sir H. C. Englefield, Sir Wm. Jerningham, Mr. Throckmorton, Mr. Fermor, Mr. Hornyold, and Mr. Townley.



1810.

body of English Catholics, the measure was not openly avowed or supported, but pushed on with the artful secrecy of a state intrigue. Many of the counties in Ireland, Galway, Waterford, Clare, Queen's County, Kilkenny, Wexford, Carlow, Donegal Leitrim, Kerry, &c. adopted separate petitions to the legislature with a view to engage as many members as possible to interest themselves in a more peculiar manner, by being called upon to support the rights of their constituents.

Catholic  
Meeting in  
Dublin.

On the 22d of January 1810, the general committee of the Catholics of Ireland met in Crow-street, Dublin, where the unanimity of the Catholic body appeared by an inundation of letters from the country, produced before the meeting, which, like the county petitions and resolutions of the general Catholic meeting, all spoke one

Amongst the instructions given to Mr. Hussey, by the said Committee, on the 3d of December, 1790, it was stated, that "if any scruple be raised about the Act of Settlement, and limiting the succession of the Crown to the Protestant line, Mr. Hussey will not permit that subject to be discussed, because we acknowledge no authority to interfere with the succession of our Kings, but the law of the land, the authority of which law we have already solemnly acknowledge to, by our oath of Allegiance."

The Hon. Baronet then descanted upon the various documents he had read. But to return to the subject of this note, he was understood to say, that Dr. Milner was once the advocate, for the doctrines they contained, but was now the greatest enemy to them, having pronounced them detrimental to the cause of religion. The Catholics of Ireland and England seem to be set against themselves. As long as he had a seat in that House he should never consent to any Bill without a clause, in pursuance of those Resolutions of the Committee of the Catho-

language; namely, that the honor and interest of the Catholic body imperiously required them to petition for their rights, from year to year. This meeting is of peculiar importance to Ireland, in as much as it brought under the consideration of the public some of the progressive movements of the original intrigue to acatholicize the country. Mr. Hay read a letter, that had been addressed to him in his official capacity, as secretary to the Catholics of Ireland, dated the 16th of January, from Mr. Jerningham, the secretary to the *Board \* of Catholics of Great Britain*, repeating the different assurances, " that had been already made, that the wish of the English Catholics is, and always will be, to adopt no measure, but what may be considered auxiliary only to the more effectual exertions of the Catholics of Ireland." Notice was also given of the intended meeting of the English Catholics on the first of the ensuing February. The reason assigned, why this day had been fixed on was, that the deputies with the several petitions from Ireland, might then be expected in London, as the English Catholics were particularly anxious to obtain the most correct information, in order to regulate their conduct by that of the Catholics of Ireland; for in England the Catholics are not the people. Mr. Hay observed, that this communication maintained

1810.

\* It is to be remarked, that the *Board of Catholics of Great Britain* was a self constituted, select, and close assemblage of persons having particular views upon the Catholic body, which it was well known an open board or assemblage would resist.

1810.

that spirit of unanimity, which ought to pervade all the Catholics of the British Empire, and was a contradiction to the reports circulated, that the Catholic laity of England had, contrary to the advice of their clergy, agreed to the measure of a Royal Veto on the appointment of their bishops. The idea therefore could not be entertained, that the Board of English Catholics could act so inconsistently, as to adopt any measure, that was disapproved of by the Catholics of Ireland, whatever might be the adventurous opinions of some of their body, and notwithstanding the encouragement of friends in Parliament, who, if they had any regard for the welfare of one-third of the population of the United Kingdom, would not attempt to force the completion of a measure so repugnant to the feelings of the people of Ireland.

Sir John C.  
Hippesley's  
letter and  
plan of  
Veto

Mr. Hay then stated, that the most Reverend Doctor Troy had received from an English Member of Parliament (Sir John Cox Hippesley) a letter, accompanied by an explanatory printed copy of a sketch of proposed regulations, concurrent with the establishment of a state provision for the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland \*. The read-

\* This deep laid plan suggested by Sir John Cox Hippesley, fathered by Mr. Pitt, adopted by Lord Grenville, palmed by Lord Castlereagh upon the duped or intimidated trustees of Maynooth College in contemplation of the Union, was now brought forward with the privacy and approbation of several of the leading members of the Board of British Catholics. The concluding sentence speaks in full its primary intent. "*All confirm the principle, that the Sovereign power in every state, of whatever religious communion, has considered itself armed with legitimate autho-*



ing of this document was a convincing proof, that a measure was in agitation, at which the feelings of the Catholics of Ireland would be excited to that degree, that however well disposed the persons might have been at its primary introduction, yet it was likely to produce more evil, than it would be in their power to repair, should they persist in attempting to force a measure so repugnant to the feelings of those, to whom they professed to be such warm friends. It was needless to comment on the effects the perusal of that paper produced; the temper of the meeting on the occasion was in unison with their final opinion of the measure. On the discovery of this document the gentlemen, who had been selected on a more recent occasion by their Catholic fellow citizens in Dublin, had, on perceiving the alarm excited at the intelligence, that the measure of the Veto had been revived, thought it necessary to call themselves together. Mr. Hay was requested to attend their meetings, in order, that he might communicate their deliberations to the numerous enquirers, that attended his office; and, finally, to submit their proceedings to the good sense of the meeting of the general committee of the Catholics of Ireland, which had been already fixed for the 22d instant. Mr. Hay attended accordingly, and agreeably to their request dispatched letters on the 18th to Lord Grenville and Mr. Grattan, in which enquiries

1810.

*rity in all matters of ecclesiastical arrangement within its dominion."*

1810.

were made, whether the draft of a bill for emancipation \*; upon the condition of granting a con-

\* This draft is what Sir John Cox Hippenesley has published in the Appendix, No. V. to the substance of his speech on Mr. Grattan's motion on the 18th of May 1810: he calls it: "*Sketch of the proposed regulations concurrent with the establishment of a state provision for the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland*" 1809." The communication of it to the committee, raised such a ferment and alarm in Dublin, that it induced the Hon. Baronet to print and circulate amongst his friends, and send to some newspapers the following cautionary declaration.

"An article having appeared in the Dublin Evening Post of the 18th inst. and copied in the British Press of the 23d inst. stating, "that an English Baronet, a member of the house of commons, had proposed a bill, making it imperative on the Roman Catholic Bishops, whenever a vacancy occurs, to return to the office of the Secretary of State a list of candidates; from which any objectionable person is to be struck out, and the vacancy to be filled by one of the approved candidates." We have authority to state the following facts: That no such bill had been prepared, or intended to be moved in Parliament by the member supposed to be alluded to. Nor has he been apprised, that it is in the contemplation of any other member to bring forward such a bill.

The mistatement has evidently arisen from the following circumstances. Some time after the discussion of the petition of the Irish Catholics, in the last Session of Parliament, and the appearance of many publications in Ireland on the subject of, what is termed "*The Veto*," or proposed negative on the part of the crown, the member alluded to drew up a sketch of regulations founded on those proposed by the four metropolitan and six senior Roman Catholic Bishops of Ireland in 1799.

"This sketch was communicated, as a matter of mere private suggestion, to some of his friends of the Roman Catholic clergy in Ireland. He had consulted no person whatever in framing a sketch, nor was it ever communicated to any member of either house of Parliament, till a considerable time after it had been

1810.

trouling and discretionary power upon the appointment of Catholic Bishops, had been prepared by the friends to the Catholics? And whether an intention did exist of proposing any bill with such a condition, to the Legislature of the Empire? It was obvious, that if such letters were advisable, it was much better to dispatch them in time, so that they might be communicated to the friends of the Catholics previous to the opening of the Session,

mentioned to those Catholic friends, and then only to very few, as a sketch, merely speculative, subject to any amendment.

“ It was stated, at the same time, that in the opinion of the author of the sketch, “ the proposal of the prelates, in 1799, seemed to have been made with less circumspection, than might have been expected, as the presentation of a candidate to government, after a canonical election had taken place in his favour (as proposed in 1799) necessarily placed such person in a painful state of degradation, if rejected :” that “ the freedom of election was much better secured by the amended provisions, than by the mode prescribed in the proposal of the Roman Catholic prelates, which, in fact, afforded no security :” and further, “ as it was expedient, that no undue influence or interference, direct or indirect, should be assumed or exercised on the part of the servants of the crown, in favour, or to the prejudice of any individual candidate in such election,” certain provisions were also sketched, which it was conceived would effectually secure the Roman Catholic clergy from such undue influence.

“ Such were the motives assigned, and the member conceived he had some claim to be credited for his sincerity by those, to whom the sketch was originally communicated. In every point, the departure from the proposal of the Roman Catholic Bishops was wholly on the side of the Catholic.

“ It has been premised, that no bill has been proposed, or is intended to be moved in Parliament by the member alluded to, or within his knowledge, by any other member, with reference to this subject, it is therefore unnecessary to add more.”



1810.

which could not be done had it been deferred till the meeting of the general committee in Dublin, the day previous to the meeting of parliament in London on the 23d.

Increase of  
Orange fe-  
rocity by  
greater se-  
crecy.

Though reason and policy had greatly tended to liberalize such Irish Protestants, as had not been sworn into the Orange societies, and the Catholic cause gained daily new friends and advocates, the Orangemen, who had lately renewed the spirit of their institute adopted a new mode of attack. Every man high or low, once sworn in an Orangeman, generally retains that proscriptive and implacable hatred to his Catholic countrymen, that is subversive of Christianity, criminal by the municipal law of the land, and unsafe to exist under secret oaths in a settled government. The very mischief, the vice, the abomination of the system ensure its secrecy: men of rank, fortune, and education blush to avow their secret obligations: if some have repented their rash undertaking, no man has proved his repentance sincere by recantation and full disclosure. It is now common Orange doctrine, that the emancipation of the Catholics will be destruction to them and their adherents. (Were other reasons wanting, that alone should induce a wise legislature to emancipate them promptly). The active leaders of the Orange societies have lately rendered their system so additionally ferocious, that some of the less blood-thirsty have withdrawn their names, who nevertheless adhere to the general principles of their institution. The secession of these half men of

blood, and the insidious disclaimer of the whole system by certain fashionable sworn (and at heart still staunch) members of the institute, leave the lodges in a state of numerical progression, organized by stricter (though more secret) discipline, invigorated by the infusion of the new spirit, and thus better fitted for extirpation, and all the projected intermediate works of darkness.

1810.

Even in the corporation of Dublin, the necessity of emancipation was triumphantly manifested at the first quarter assembly of this year. An order came down from the aldermen, intimating that they had agreed to the resolution of the sheriffs and commons, passed some years since, for having a petition against the Catholic claims, presented by their representatives to parliament. Mr. Willis observed, that he recollected no such resolution having passed the house, and moved, that it be sent back to be amended. He said, if the board of aldermen were ashamed of the brat of their own getting, they ought not to attempt to father it on that house. Mr. Giffard was ordered to go back with the resolution. When Mr. Hutton requested to be heard before it went back. He rejoiced, that the Catholics were determined to petition; it omened well for the tranquillity and happiness of the country. The constitution was invaluable, and why should they not be embraced in its benign influence? But the *No Popery* administration, which got into power, by imposing on the credulity of the people, is now unmasked. They had sent the fag end of their administration into that

Growing  
liberality in  
the corpo-  
ration of  
Dublin.

1810.

assembly, to light the torch of discord. He entreated all parties to forget their animosities, dwell together like brethren, and take for their motto *equal rights and liberties to all Irishmen*. The petition having come down, amended in part only, the board (it must be supposed) being ashamed of the business, thought to lay the introduction of it at the door of the commons; who equally ashamed, were at the point of sending it back to be again amended, when Mr. Farrell moved, that the petition should be postponed for one year, and Mr. Neville seconded the motion. Mr. Giffard said, his reason for adopting a former petition was, that from the well known loyalty of that house, it would pass unanimously, as debate on that subject would answer no good purpose. He then particularly noticed, that although 140 polite letters, had been written to the most respectable Roman Catholics in Dublin by the Jubilee committee, only three had sufficient loyalty to attend the celebration of the 50th anniversary of their beloved Sovereign. Mr. Farrell said, he saw more than a dozen, where he sat; and declared, that certain illiberal expressions of that committee uttered in the Pipe Water Committee Room, which had been repeated out of doors, was the cause of their non-attendance. In the course of the debate, Mr. Giffard animadverted severely on the conduct of the High Sheriffs\* in summoning Roman Catholics on Grand

\* Although the law had for several years allowed Roman Catholics to sit upon Grand Juries, Sir James Riddall, to his immor-



Juries. After an angry debate, the ballot was taken, when there appeared, white beans against the counter-petition 39—black 34—majority in favour of the Catholics 5.

1810.

It is a painful, though imperious duty, to represent the county meeting of Tyrone in a different light from that, in which it has been generally viewed by the public. It has been before observed, that the Royal *Veto*, as contended for by Lord Grenville and his adherents, would be so destructive of the purity of the Catholic religion, that if the Irish Catholics could be once fixed with it, even Mr. Giffard, the founder of Orangeism, would be the first to petition for their emancipation. It was utterly impossible, that the gentlemen of Tyrone should be ignorant of the very recent reprobation of the *Veto* by the clerical synod and the general voice of the Catholic laity: that emancipation would be rejected with indignation, if coupled with the *Veto*: that nothing could create so inflammable a division of the Catholic body, as the revival of that controversy: and that nothing was then more likely to reanimate the few Irish individuals, who still supported the *Veto*, than the concurrence and encouragement of the most active of their Catholic brethren in England, and the leading advocates of their cause in Parliament. Under these circumstances was convened a meeting of the county of Tyrone, at the requi-

County of  
Tyrone  
meeting,

tal credit, was the first Sheriff, who for above a century had summoned a Catholic to sit on a Dublin Grand Jury.

1810.

sition of a powerful body of Orangemen.\* The meeting was at a short notice convened at Omagh; attended by all the leading Orangemen of the county, some of whom made speeches upon the advantages of general liberality and union. One only mentioned, that he was an Orangeman of 1798; none other even remotely touched upon or referred to the Orange system, or the necessity of breaking up the lodges, and dissolving the dark, illegal, and criminal union, as the essential requisite, the *sine qua non*, for letting peace, harmony, and unanimity into their county. Upon the High Sheriff's taking the chair, the Right Hon. Sir John Stewart (late Attorney General), in an eloquent speech observed, that the occasion was unexampled in that county, and the assembly numerous beyond any, which customary occurrences could have drawn together. They were called upon to come forward and renounce for themselves and their country those lamentable prejudices, which had separated them so long from their Roman Catholic countrymen. As one of those, who had signed the requisition to the Sheriff to convene the meeting, he felt it incumbent upon him to state his motives for having so done, and for supporting the resolution he should have the honor of submitting to the consideration of that

\* Viz. The Earl Belmore, Sir John Stewart, Bart. Thomas C. Moutray, George Perry, James Crawford, James Lowry, James Sinclair, Samuel Galbraith, George Lendrum, J. Mc. Causland, Robert H. Lowry, Theodore Bailie, Acheson M. Moore, John H. Knox, James Caulfield, Esqrs.

great and respectable body then assembled. It was the duty of every man, interested in the prosperity of the British constitution in Church and State, to promote every measure calculated to unite all classes of his Majesty's subjects, and forever to put down those internal divisions, so ruinous to the welfare and happiness of the State. He passed a well merited eulogium upon the Catholics of the county of Tyrone, during those times, when civil discord scourged the land; they by their excellent conduct had contributed to the peace and security of the county. He hoped, that the great and independent Protestant county of Tyrone would by the declaration of their sentiments that day, lead others to the adoption of the like conciliatory measures towards their Catholic brethren, upon those principles of security necessarily connected with the safety of our establishments in Church and State, as the same were handed down by our forefathers. He then read the resolutions\*,

1810.

\* At a most numerous and highly respectable meeting of the freeholders of the county of Tyrone, at Omagh, on the 4th of April, convened by public notice from the High Sheriff, agreeable to a requisition for that purpose, to take into consideration the momentous state of public affairs, and the petitions of the Catholics at this time before Parliament.

The High Sheriff having taken the chair, the following resolutions were adopted:

Resolved, That as several petitions from his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects are now before Parliament, praying unconditionally the repeal of several statutes, which still intercept from them the rights and enjoyments, which our free constitution dispenses, it is incumbent upon all public bodies to express their sentiments at this juncture with that candour and independence of



1810.

purporting the concurrence of the county to the emancipation of their Catholic countrymen, upon

opinion, which a sincere conviction of what they owe to the interests and honor of the Empire at large should inspire.

Resolved, That impressed with this sense, we, the freeholders of the county of Tyrone, declare, that we consider a principle of national conciliation laid upon a deep and liberal basis, uniting, identifying and attaching the entire body of our fellow subjects of all descriptions to each other and to the state, to be a wise and necessary policy; that it is in such wise and necessary policy that the freedom and happiness, which distinguish these realms, under the mild and moral sway of his Majesty's gracious sceptre, can best hope to endure the shocks of these tempestuous and revolutionary times, and be ensured to our posterity.

Resolved, That while we deprecate all those degrading animosities, which have so long estranged his Majesty's subjects from each other, and enfeeble them in great trials of common danger, and while we most ardently desire, that all causes of miserable contention may terminate for ever, and be succeeded by ages of harmony and happiness; we are nevertheless firmly of opinion, that the mere repeal of the laws, which bear upon our Roman Catholic fellow subjects would not produce the comprehensive advantage to all parties, which we so anxiously wish to see obtained; and we are also convinced, that in the event of such laws being about to be repealed, it is most expedient and absolutely indispensable, that wise and cautious provisions should be made to preserve in safety and durability all the civil and religious institutions of this country, which have formed and yet continue to form the principal bulwarks of our happiness and freedom.

Resolved, That we never can consent to expose those great fundamental protections of our state political and ecclesiastical to any inroads whatsoever, and that it appears to us, that Lord Grenville, in a letter to Lord Fingal, recently published, has set forth with proper constitutional discretion the true and real foundations, upon which a great and perfect system of national conciliation may be effected.

Resolved, That we do approve of the distinct specific princi-

1810.

such grounds as might preserve unimpaired the present form of the constitution. Major Crawford seconded and concurred in the resolutions. Captain Burnside of the Tyrone militia deprecated any agitation of the question at that time, and moved an adjournment *sine die*. Mr. James Verner was also for the adjournment: he came to that meeting in order to remove those prejudices, which had so long subsisted against himself and family with reference to their opposition to the Catholics. He alledged, that his son had lately letten his estates to persons of that persuasion on very long

and tall terms, and that the principles set forth in that document, as the ground-work, upon which so desirable an adjustment may be bottomed; and that we are satisfied, that any plan less circumspect and salutary, would only give new forms to subjects of disunion and discord, would fail in obtaining any comprehensive national advantage, and could not produce that radical contentment, tranquillity and harmony, for the attainment of which mutual prejudices should be relinquished, and reciprocal concessions cheerfully made.

Resolved, Therefore, that our representatives in Parliament be instructed to oppose any loose, unqualified, unconditional repeal of the remaining popery laws, and that they be further advised to give their cordial support to any great plan of national conciliation, which may be brought before Parliament, upon the distinct principles, to which we have already referred, and which shall have a proper and determined vigilance to the preservation of the civil and religious institutions of our constitution, devised by the spirit and wisdom of our ancestors, and matured to so much perfection by the progressive wisdom of ages.

The High Sheriff having left the chair, and the Right Hon. Sir John Stewart, Bart. being called to it, the thanks of the meeting were unanimously voted to the High Sheriff for convening the county, and for his proper and impartial conduct in the chair.

1810.

leases\*. He would appeal to the Priest of the parish to testify the cordial sentiments of his family towards the Catholics, to whom they never had been hostile, as was most wickedly given out. He and they during the rebellion had taken an active part in uniting a body of men in support of the King and constitution. Mr. King, of Holy Hill, opposed the adjournment; conceiving, there then was an imperious necessity for that great Protestant county to express their sentiments of conciliation and regard towards their Catholic brethren. Lieutenant Colonel Stewart of the Tyrone militia, supported the adjournment, alledging, that his father's (Mr. Stewart of Killymoon) sentiments against Catholic emancipation on any terms were well known to the county, and approved of by them, or they would not have returned him their representative for 42 years. Mr. George Perry deemed the resolutions absolutely necessary, as upon a former occasion the Grand Jury (which may be called the representative wealth of the county) had addressed their representatives to oppose the claims of the Catholics, therefore in order to free them from such shackles, he would vote for the resolutions, and then publish the happy change of sentiment on this important question. Mr. James Buchanan, of Commongreen near Omagh stated, he was an Orangeman of the year 1798, and rejoiced in an opportunity of ex-

\* See what is said of this Mr. Verner in the Introduction, page 47.



pressing his sentiments in favour of Catholic emancipation; he made pointed remarks upon the present political situation of Europe, and the Pope, who was now the subject and prisoner of France; this circumstance required of them a special guard against the influence of Bonaparte, and he doubted not, but that the Irish Catholics would shew on their part an equal degree of concession, which to so many appeared essential to the general peace, happiness, and stability of the Empire. The question having been loudly called for, the resolutions were carried with the dissent of those only, who had spoken for the adjournment\*.

The Parliament was opened by commission on the 23d of January, and the King's speech, which was read by the Chancellor, was a curious specimen of ministerial ability. It scrupulously avoided reference to any of the multifarious objects of par-

1810.  
Opening of  
Parliament  
and ministerial  
misrepresentation.

\* Very general was the delusion of these resolutions of the Tyrone Orangemen. Even the Catholic committee returned them thanks for their rising liberality. An act, which may have proved earnestness, sincerity, even avidity in the Catholics for reconciliation with their Protestant fellow countrymen: it argued no depth of penetration into the duplicity and craft of the Orangemen. It was shrewdly said by Mr. Keogh on the 13th of July 1810. "We all know, or have heard, that a meeting at Tyrone sanctioned Lord Grenville's letter, and directed their representatives in Parliament to vote for the emancipation only upon condition of our submitting to his Lordship's plans. The committee reprobated Lord Grenville and his letter, and at the same time return their sincere thanks to the Tyrone meeting, for adopting and confirming the sentiments and opinions of each."

1810.

liamentary discussion during the preceding Session, or any of the pressing causes of national distress, misfortunes and discontent. It passed in masked and disguised review the fall of Austria, the expedition to Walcheren, the defection of Sweden, the utility and glory of our campaigns in Portugal and Spain, the importance of our diplomatic successes upon the Portuguese Regency and the Spanish Cortes, and the rupture with America. In alluding to the estimates for the current year, the speech expressed his Majesty's deep regret at the pressure upon his subjects, which the protracted continuance of the war rendered inevitable. It displayed a high coloured exhibition of the financial and commercial prosperity of the country, magnified the vast exertions of France against us, but denied, that any bad effect had followed the measures directed against our trade. In the Lords, the address was moved by Lord Glasgow, and seconded by Lord Grimstone. Lord Grenville in a luminous and spirited speech, proposed an amendment, that was warmly and ably supported by Lord Moira, Lord Grey, and Lord St. Vincent. It was opposed by Lord Sidmouth: and ultimately negatived by a division of 92 for the amendment, and 144 for the original address. In the Commons, the address was moved by Lord Bernard, and seconded by Mr. Peele. Lord Gower in a maiden speech, proposed an amendment substantially similar to that moved by Lord Grenville, which was powerfully supported by Mr. Ponsonby, Mr. Ward, and others of that party. The amendment was

vehemently opposed by the ministerialists; particularly by Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning: it was negatived by 263, who voted for the original address: and supported by 167. These divisions of the houses upon the address bespoke generally the respective strength of the opposite parties at the opening of Parliament\*.

1810.

Never was the Catholic mind more unanimously bent upon bringing their claims under the consideration of Parliament, than at present: and it was generally understood, that they confidently looked up to unconditional emancipation. The resolutions of the general Catholic committee †, as well

Catholics  
resolve to  
apply for  
uncondi-  
tional  
emancipa-  
tion.

\* The only member, who is reported to have brought Ireland under the consideration of either house, was Lord Kensington, the member for Haverford West, who voted for the amendment. He is an Irish Peer, though no Irishman. "He was sorry to see one very essential subject omitted in the speech, but which he would wish to introduce into the address; he meant the situation of the people of Ireland, who were our most faithful, as well as most useful allies. Ministers ought to extend much more attention to Ireland, than they had hitherto done to preserve it sure to the Empire."

† They are given as a sample of others.

At a meeting of the General Committee of the Catholics of Ireland, held at the Committee Room, No. 4, Crow street, on the 31st Jan. 1810,

Sir THOMAS ESMONDE, Bart. in the Chair.

Resolved, That, solemnly protesting against the unrelenting system of intolerance, which the Catholics of Ireland appear to be doomed in this enlightened age to endure, we are yet steadfastly determined to persevere in claiming our emancipation.

And by our constancy in this just pursuit, and by availing ourselves of all warrantable means for this purpose, to prove our-



1810.

as those of the different counties, were in unison. Lord Fingal, to whom the management of the Catholic petition was again entrusted, arrived in London from Scotland to meet Mr. Hay, who carried it over. In the mean time, General Mathew presented a petition from the Catholics of the county of Tipperary, which, though signed by few names, had the full sanction of 80,000 Catholic inhabitants of that county. Separate petitions were on different days presented from Limerick and several other counties.

Mr. Grattan's  
Veto on the  
Catholic  
petition.

On the 27th of February Mr. Grattan after having presented the Catholic petition\* to the house,

selves worthy of those equal rights and liberties, which we demand, and can never consent to forego.

Resolved, That, not dismayed by past disappointments, or deterred by existing difficulties, we shall take every occasion to utter our complaints, to solicit ample discussion, and to render our degraded and oppressed condition universally known, relying that the unerring influence of justice and sound reason (to which we appeal) must speedily subdue those blind and fatal prejudices, which obstruct the freedom and happiness of Ireland.

Resolved, That it is the indispensable duty of this committee to have their petition to Parliament presented to both houses, so that the entire merits of our cause may be fairly and amply discussed.

Resolved, That the Earl of Fingal be requested forthwith to cause our petitions to both houses of Parliament, to be so proceeded upon, as to ensure that inquiry and discussion, which the honour and interest of the Catholic body imperiously require.

\* The following is the copy of that petition.

To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

We, whose names are hereunto subscribed, on behalf of ourselves and others, his Majesty's subjects, professing the Roman

spoke nearly as follows upon the subject of Veto ;  
On a former occasion, he had suggested to the

1810.

Catholic Religion in Ireland, humbly beg leave to represent to this Honourable House—

That we, your Petitioners, did, in the years 1805 and 1808, humbly Petition this Honourable House, praying the total abolition of the Penal Laws, which aggrieve the Catholics of Ireland.

We now feel ourselves obliged, in justice to, ourselves, our families, and our country, once more to solicit the attention of this Honourable House, to the subject of our said Petition.

We state, that the Catholics constitute the most numerous and increasing portion of the inhabitants of Ireland, comprising an immense majority of the manufacturing, trading, and agricultural interests, and amounting at least to four-fifths of the Irish population ; that they contribute largely to the exigencies of their country, civil and military ; that they pay the far greater part of the public and local taxes ; that they supply the armies and navies of this empire with upwards of one third part in number of the soldiers and sailors employed in the public service ; and that notwithstanding heavy discouragements, they form the principal constituent part of the strength, wealth, and industry of Ireland.

Yet such is the grievous operation of the Penal Laws, of which we complain, that the Roman Catholics are thereby not only set apart from their fellow subjects, as aliens in their native land, but are ignominiously and rigorously proscribed from almost all situations of public trust, honour, or emolument, including every public function and department, from the Houses of Legislature down to the most petty Corporation.

We state, whenever the labour of public duty is to be exacted and enforced, the Catholic is sought out and selected ; where honours or rewards are to be dispensed, he is neglected or contemned.

Where the military and naval strength of the empire is to be recruited, the Catholics are eagerly solicited, nay compelled, to bear their full share in the perils of warfare, and in the lowest

1810.

House, that the Irish Catholics were willing to allow, in the appointment of their bishops a *Veto* to

rank; but when preferment or promotion (the dear and legitimate prize of successful valour) are to be distributed as rewards of merit, no laurels are destined to a Catholic's brow, or fit the wearer for command.

We state thus generally the grievous condition of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, occasioned solely by the fatal influence and operation of the penal laws; and though we forbear to enter into greater detail! yet we do not the less trust to the influence of reason and justice (which eventually must prevail) for effecting a full and deliberate inquiry into our grievances, and accomplishing our effectual relief.

We do beg leave, however, most solemnly, to press upon the attention of this Honourable House the imminent public dangers, which necessarily result from so inverted an order of things, and so vicious and unnatural a system of legislation, a system, which has long been the reproach of this nation, and is unparalleled throughout modern Christendom.

And we state it as our fixed opinion, that to restore to the Catholics of Ireland a full, equal, and unqualified participation of the benefits of the Laws and Constitution of England, and to withdraw all the privations, restrictions, and vexatious distinctions, which oppress, injure, and afflict them in their country, is now become a measure not merely expedient, but absolutely necessary, not only a debt of right due to a complaining people, but perhaps the last remaining resource of this empire, in the preservation of which we take so deep an interest.

We therefore pray this Honourable House to take into their most serious consideration the nature, extent, and operation of the aforesaid penal laws, and by repealing the same altogether, to restore to the Roman Catholics of Ireland, those liberties so long withheld, and their due share in that constitution, which they, in common with their fellow subjects of every other description, contribute by taxes, arms, and industry, to sustain and defend.

And your petitioners will ever pray, &c. &c.



1810.

the Crown. He was sorry to say, that at present no such sentiment appeared to prevail. Whether they had changed their sentiments, or whether he had mistaken them, was a subject he should never discuss; he should rather choose to be thought to have committed mistake, than that they should be thought to have retracted; and he should never suffer himself to be defended at the expence of his countrymen. Saying this he must add, that he retained the great principle, which he then advanced, namely, that on the communication to the Catholics of all the privileges of the Constitution, it was necessary to secure these realms against the danger of a foreign influence; and, if the Catholics objected to obtain that security by a Veto in the Crown, it became incumbent on them to furnish some other effectual and palpable remedy. The Pope was almost certain now to become a subject of France; and a subject of France, or a French citizen, would never be permitted to nominate the spiritual magistrates of the people of Ireland. He was convinced the Irish Catholics were sensible of that truth; and that whatever opinions they entertained with regard to a Veto, they had, he was sure, on this principle, but one opinion only; namely, the necessity of securing their country against a French nomination of the Catholic bishops of Ireland. He had no doubt of their just and decided sentiments on the obtaining the object of their petition, as well as various other reasons, it was incumbent on them to come to some determination on the subject;

1810.

in order, that the two objects might go together, namely, the communication to the Catholics of the privileges of the Constitution, and the exclusion of a foreign nomination of the Catholic bishops. What was the best manner or means to secure those objects, he should not now decide. It was a matter for discussion and arrangement; but he should lay down, as positions undeniable: first, that they could be obtained without violation of the Catholic religion, or the British Constitution; secondly, that both were for the security of the state. The Catholics wished to have a motion put on their petition, so as to bring on a full and fair discussion; he should do so accordingly, and give notice of a future day for its consideration. Considering that question, he should rely and rest the subject on two great principles: communication of constitutional privileges, and security against a foreign nomination. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said, that it appeared, that whatever difference of opinion had prevailed between him and the Right Hon. Gentleman upon the abstract question, Mr. Grattan was now of opinion that certain great and important provisions were indispensable, in order to guard the Constitution against the danger likely to result from the concession. The Right Hon. Gentleman had at length admitted the danger of giving the Roman Catholics what they sought for; or if they did not, why did he speak of the necessity of a remedy? It appeared, then, that they both saw the danger, though they did not agree as to the best means of

providing against it. He hoped, therefore, he should hear no further charges of intolerance; since the Rt. Hon. Gentleman himself, who had been so long the advocate of the Catholic claims, had acknowledged, that there was something to be apprehended from the spiritual influence of the Pope in the nomination of the Roman Catholic Bishops. This was the intolerance of which he (Mr. Perceval) had been guilty. He had all along thought it dangerous; so did now the Right Hon. Gentleman.

1810.

On the fourth day after Mr. Grattan had made this ambiguous speech upon the *Veto*, the Catholics in Dublin met to the number of above 400, at Darcy's rooms in Earl-street, and there without any dissentient voice or even debate, they entered into resolutions\*, which were intended to put the

Catholics  
meet in  
Dublin,  
thank their  
Bishops for  
opposing  
the Veto.

At a Meeting of the General Committee of the Catholics of Ireland, held at D'Arcy's, in Earl-street, on the 2d of March, 1810.

#### LORD FFRENCH IN THE CHAIR.

The Most Rev. Doctor Murray read to the Committee a written communication from the Catholic Prelates of Ireland. It was unanimously resolved. That the thanks of the Committee are due, and are hereby given, to the most Rev. and Right Rev. the Catholic Prelates of Ireland, for the communication now made to us through the Most Rev. Doctor Murray, and the Rev. Doctor Hamill.

That the thanks of the meeting are due, and are hereby given to the Most Rev. Doctor Murray and the Rev. Doctor Hamill for making the communication. That, as Irishmen, and as Catholics, we never can consent to any dominion or controul whatsoever over the appointment of our Prelates on the part of the Crown, or the servants of the Crown. That the thanks of



1810.

question of *Veto* to rest. The letter of Lord Grenville, the proposal of Sir John C. Hippesley,\* the overt and occult workings of the more busy the Committee are hereby given to Daniel O'Connell; Esq. for the faithful discharge of the duty of Secretary.

FFRENCH, Chairman.

\* The Author frankly avows, that in exercise of his duty of allegiance, he has throughout this work endeavoured, according to his humble means, to unravel a very extensive, dark, complicated and dangerous confederacy against the settlement of the Crown and the safety of the British empire by an under plot not even disguised, against Ireland and her religion. The confederates (many, crafty and powerful) are thoroughly sensible, that as long as Ireland remains purely Catholic, as she has through centuries of unrelenting persecution, as long as she retains that national fidelity, prowess and magnanimity, which the faggot, sword and chain have been unable to extinguish, so long will the rightful holder of the scepter command five millions of arms and hearts powerful and warm to support him against foreign and domestic foes. Hence public efforts, expenditures, honors and increased rewards for withdrawing individuals, clergy, nobility, gentry, mechanics, peasantry, soldiers and above all children from the faith and emulation of their ancestors. The very insignificancy of the individuals worked upon, marks the importance and earnestness of the combination. Mr. O'Connell, who has sagacity to perceive, talent to enforce, nerve and honesty to put forth the whole truth, at the last Aggregate Meeting on the 28th of May in Dublin, thus spoke: "This conspiracy, which my learned friend (Counsellor Finlay) has so ably exposed, is not against us, because we are Catholics; for the foreign Catholic soldiers have express provision made, that they shall enjoy liberty of conscience. No, Sir, Mr. Perceval proscribes us, because *we are Irishmen*. I was anxious to put my opinion on record, that I disapprove of the measure (of interchanging Militias without securing to the Irish soldier the exercise of his religion) as an *Irishman*, at the same time that I oppose it as a *Catholic*.

advocates of Veto from England; the concurrent sympathies of the board of British Catholics, and

1810.

The Author's duty calls upon him to notice every link of the chain he can discover in this confederacy. With this view alone does he here refer to what the Rev. Dr. O'Connor has said of him, in his 2d Letter under the title *Columbanus ad Hibernos*. His determination to avoid the Veto controversy, will not be broken into by some observations tending to indicate the part cast for that gentleman to perform in the grand confederacy, to alter the religion and extinguish the national spirit of his country. The passage selected from his second letter, p. 221, which bears upon this subject, is as follows: "And I boldly assert, that never was the character of any man injured, or more misrepresented than Ormonde's is by Mr. Plowden. I do not mean, that Mr. Plowden is guilty of the flagitious crime of wilful misrepresentation; but I have a right to complain, that he has been misguided by the 'foreign' influence men, the *Castabals* of our native country; for, long before he published, I warned him against them; I cautioned him by letter dated so far back as February, 1805, against trusting to those very partial and suspicious authorities, to which he appeals; I informed him, that he must read, and compare the originals; and I indicated to him, where those originals were to be found." "Now it appears from his own quotations, that he has not read any of those authorities; but is led on blindly by the blind, whose paragraphs fill his voluminous compilation, even *verbatim*, with assertions without proofs, and with calumnies, which every man, at all acquainted with Irish history, had read *usque ad nauseam*, before I had written to him on the subject. Surely, if Mr. Plowden had not been so unfortunately misguided, he never could have been guilty of abusing one of the greatest and most honorable men our country has produced, with a malignity and a coarseness of language which no transaction of his whole life can possibly justify. He asserts, that the internal dissensions of the Catholics at this time, were most actively fomented by Ormonde; that to cover the turpitude of his own conduct, he imposed upon the Lord Mayor of Dublin by a forged, or a

Dr. O'Connor and the Author.

1810.

their mysterious overtures to the Irish Catholic committee had now nearly brought the question

forced letter from the King; obliging him to surrender Dublin to the Puritans; that in surrendering Dublin, he acted with interested views to his own domestic concerns having stipulated with the Puritannical commissioners for a large sum of money, as the price of his own base surrender; and that he thus infamously betrayed the authority and trust of the King."

The more ardent the confederate, the more ostentatious in disclaiming the conspiracy, and often the less guarded in suppressing the part allotted him to act. The tempter generally conceals the cloven foot, and sometimes puts on the angel of light. In speaking heretofore of tracing visible effects to occult causes with reference to Orangeism, (that forms a formidable part of the grand confederacy) the necessity was stated of recurring to presumption, probability and conjecture. It is self evident, that the full and ultimate views of Dr. O'Connor's violent publications upon the *Veto* do not stand explicitly avowed upon the face of them. *Volo Episcopari* no where occurs in words. An ordinary reader may wonder, why the Author's treatment of the Duke of Ormonde should excite such an ebullition in the breast of the Rev. *Veto Doctor*. Presumption suggests Doctor O'Connor's consciousness of the strict analogy of his own situation under an Ex-Governor of Ireland, *not uninvigorated and uncheered by the warm beams of munificent patronage* (so he boasts in his *prologomenon* to a promised translation of the old Irish Annals into Latin) to that of the recreant Peter Walsh; who found patronage, favor and support from Ormonde, having through his Grace being appointed seneschal to the Bishop of Winchester. He quitted the evangelical labours of his vocation in Ireland for other pursuits in England: he employed his literary attainments in defending unsound opinions and refractory conduct to his spiritual superiors: he receded so far from Catholic doctrine and discipline, as to have been generally supposed a Protestant, though he never read his recantation: he was not only suspended from his faculties, but disciplined by his Bishop. Archbishop Talbot exposed and censured his opinions and conduct, in a



of *Veto* into new life. It is doubtful whether the report of Mr. Grattan's speech of the 27th of 1810.

book entitled *The Friar Disciplined*. It recurs not to the Author, that the question of *Veto* occurred either in principle or practice, when that *greatest and most honourable man Ireland ever produced*, ruled, betrayed or abandoned his country. All that can be said with propriety at present concerning the conduct of the Duke of Ormonde to his King and his Catholic countrymen, is that the Author will be ready on some future, (perhaps no remote) occasion to prove from Protestant authors all and much more than he has hitherto said of his Grace's public character. He will also be prepared to account more fully, than the scope of this history will permit, for his reasons for not having punctiliously attended to Dr. O'Connor's Cautionary Epistle of 1805; (meant for 1802). It is a ruling maxim with the confederated system, that in writing upon Catholic Ireland, the whole truth is not to be told, merit is to be smothered, oppression disguised, insult applauded, and calumny remunerated. The Author's Historical Review of the State of Ireland (that *voluminous compilation*) did every thing in the reverse. It being however too ponderous for general circulation (containing about 2700 full quarto pages it costs 4 guineas) the Author at the desire of many reduced it into a History of Ireland in 2 octavo volumes (price 1 guinea) containing in the whole about 1000 octavo pages; to which he prefixed a dissertation on the antiquity of Irish history, in which he has devoted some pages (from 132 to 148) to the subject of Dr. O'Connor's having sold himself and his grandfather's library to the Marquis of Buckingham, and the translation announced to be at press in 1802, though none have yet appeared in 1811. The London official military bookseller to the army (Mr. Egerton) who had an interest in the copyright of the Historical Review, filed a Bill in Chancery in England to restrain the publication of that history, because it had pyrated the substance and nearly the words of 250 quarto (500 octavo) pages out of 2700. Lord Eldon granted the injunction, and has therefore prevented the general circulation of the work, which would have diffused more generally the substance of the *voluminous compilation* so obnoxious to Dr. O'Connor. The Author conceived a fair

1810.

February actually reached Dublin, whilst the General Committee was sitting on the 2d of March.

abridgment to be an original work. That dissertation the venerable and learned Vallancey saw before the Infirmary, and said of it in a letter in the Author's possession that he had vindicated the *Vindicator* of the ancient history of Ireland much better than he could have done it himself. He had produced such new and strong evidence in favor of the General's hypothesis, as had almost excited him to renew the subject at the advanced age of 81. This alone would have sufficed to work the Rev. Doctor into an impassioned ferment. By referring in print to his curious correspondence with the Author, he has relieved him from that secrecy, which had checked allusion to it in that dissertation. That delicacy binds no longer; and henceforth the author lays in his claim to avail himself of Dr. O'Connor's letters in whatever he may be called upon hereafter to say publicly to or of the Rev. Vetoist.

Who deals in darkness, creates suspicion: he drives his antagonist even beyond presumption and supposition. His charge of the author being misguided by *foreign influence men*, he can no otherwise understand, than that in 1791, when the *protesting Catholic dissenters* broached certain doctrines, which the author conceived bore too hard upon the spiritual supremacy of the head of the Christian hierarchy, he wrote the *case stated*, which opugned them. Sir Richard Musgrave is the only person the author is aware of, that has noticed in print that publication. As however Columbanus's first letter is made up of the general substance and matter contained in and compiled by Mr. Butler for the famous blue books published at that time against the power and jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome, it would be folly to deny, that they were *duo laborantes in unum*: and if the author could have foreseen in 1805 these sympathetic energies of the Rev. Doctor with Lord Sidmouth's tool, he too should have had a hand in instigating Cerberus to bark at Erin and her religion in the frontispiece of the author's historical letter to Sir Richard Musgrave. What gave rise to the author's correspondence with Dr. O'Connor, was his wish to render as perfect as possible the



1810.

It was certainly calculated to redouble their fears, and consequently to strengthen their resolutions: particularly his reply to Mr. Perceval; wherein he is reported to have said, that "the Ministers had

historical Review of the State of Ireland, which he had then in hand, to procure certain materials touching Catholic Irish affairs during the last century, which he alone possessed amongst his grand father's papers. The absolute refusal to shew, or in any manner to communicate these documents to the author, with a declaration, that he was no longer master of them, created some suspicion, that the *patrum virtus* had not descended to all in the second degree from the venerable and patriotic Charles O'Connor of Ballinagare, whose talents, knowledge and veracity, the author in common (he believes) with every true Irishman had long with reason esteemed respected and valued. The author's estimation of the Irish character, which has been acquired by reason, strengthened by reflection, and confirmed by experience, falls not short of that of the warmest native. The Irish reader may then conjecture what his feelings were in reading the following declarations, in Dr. O'Connor's own hand writing, first as to his venerable grand father. "When I was younger, and had less time to enquire than I have now, I thought that my grand father's introduction to Curry was an exact historical painting, as far as it went of the times, to which it relates. I do not think so now." Then as to the spirit of an Irishman, or what he fashionably terms *Irish prejudices*, he says. "Though an Irishman myself, and one of the *old mere Irish*, as you may see by my name, I am come to a period of life, when these fooleries begin to wear their natural complexion with regard to us: the rouge is washed off, and the wrinkles are the more disgusting, the less they were perceived before." If this combination of circumstances, if the obvious context of words and phrases; if above all, the expected remuneration for supporting the favourite dogma of a powerful patron, bring home to the reverend divine even a faint shade of suspicion (abstracting here from his doctrines upon the *Veto*), the poet's caution cannot be too emphatically urged—*Hunc tu Romane caveo*.



1810.

a right to demand, that the Church should be secured : for that the Pope was now in a very different situation from that, in which he stood, when Mr. Fox brought forward the question in 1805."

On the 12th of March Lord Donoughmore presented a petition from the general body of the Catholics of Ireland, and one from the county and city of Cork : he ushered them in with an instructive and animated detail of the actual situation of the great body of his Catholic countrymen. He shortly referred to the question of Veto, deeply lamenting the embarrassments, which, at present, by recent occurrences on the continent, appeared to hang upon the question. But he entertained the strongest hope, that much of these differences and difficulties would be softened down before he should be called upon to address himself to the house again upon that subject, in consequence of the notice, which he had given ; that their Lordships would come to the decision with minds so justly disposed to conciliate this important body of their countrymen, whose cause it would be his duty to plead, that an early prospect would be opened for their admission into a full participation of all the privileges of the constitution of their country, from which they had been excluded; not more to their own disparagement and degradation, than to the weakness and insecurity of the Protestant State, and every member of the British community.

Mr. Parnell's motion about tithes.

The pertinacity, with which the confederacy against Irish prosperity was followed up, was

clearly discoverable in the obstinate perseverance of ministers in rejecting Mr. Parnell's motion for a select committee to enquire into the manner of collecting tithes, and such other matters relating thereto, as they should think proper. After the petitions presented to the house in 1808 upon this subject had been read, the Hon. member, who had always shewn himself an untemporizing, unqualified, and hearty friend of his country, claimed a double share of attention from the house, on account of the new obstacle (alluding to the *Veto*) lately raised to emancipation: of which the present question stood altogether clear. In a luminous and impressive discourse, he discussed the delicate and vital subject in all its bearings. 'Will then, said Mr. Parnell, the prime minister of this country repine to enquire into the just and well founded complaints of Ireland? I advise him, and I advise the house to take care, how they come to a decision so repugnant to every principle of the constitution, and at this time so inconsistent with every principle of sound policy. Rather let them do that, which it is obvious they ought to do. Shew the people of Ireland, that at length the time is come, when this country is ready to fulfil the engagements, on which the measure of Union was carried; and that it is sincere in a determination to do justice, and to afford redress to the long neglected and oppressed people of Ireland. The same objection remained, that did at the time the Hon. Gentleman brought on the question before. Government had tried every thing to reform the

1810.

1810.

system; yet to no effect. Mr. Perceval maintained, that the motion went only to fish out little party discords, which ought to be always kept in oblivion: that the great grievance of all in Ireland was, the exorbitant rent extorted by the landlords; and next to that, the vexations, which arose from the non-resident clergy granting proctorships. The government were as anxious as any individual could be, to devise some remedy for what might well be called a crying evil. He opposed the motion for a committee.

Government objects to Mr. Parnell's motion, and Mr. Grattan supports it.

Sir John Newport spoke very fully for Mr. Parnell's motion. Mrs. La Foster thought it unadvisable to enter into any parliamentary investigation of this subject, until some digested plan should be devised. Tithes were unquestionably an evil, but yet indispensable. As at present no practicable remedy was suggested, he should oppose the motion. Mr. Herbert (of Kerry) was in favour of the committee; as was Mr. Maurice Fitzgerald, who argued at length against the present mode of collecting tithes in Ireland. Mr. Fitzgerald (of Ennis) had no objection to go into the committee, though not on the grounds stated by his Right Hon. Friend. He was determined to resist every attempt upon the property of the Church of Ireland. Mr. Grattan still entertained all his former opinions, upon the oppressive nature of levying tithes in Ireland. He could speak from knowledge in testimony of the moderation of the majority of

\* This gentleman had within a month been made a Privy Counsellor.



1810.

the Irish Protestant clergy. There were few, whom he found to be sufficiently acute, furnished with a quick scent in the pursuit of clerical profits. They were, however, but few: the generality were of a different order. But the tithe proctor was of another species and another stamp: a public factor of public rapine; he extended beyond himself the infamy of his galling and griping character. The Church suffered from the officious ministry of these sordid harpies. The tithe proctor cannot help being a tithe proctor. He only follows his nature when he grinds. But the clergy should be removed to a jealous distance from the contagion of such a connexion. He was for going into the committee, if it were only to shew the Irish public, that their interests were not wholly indifferent to that house. Doctor Duigenan said, that the grievance of paying rent to a landlord might as well be complained of, as that of paying tithes. He denied the right of the house to enquire into such a subject, as that before them; an enquiry of such a nature was entirely unnecessary. The assertion, that the Catholic shared the burden of the tithes was fallacious, as that body of people, numerous as they might be, were totally exempt from any such burden. General Mathew was sorry, that contrary to Lord Wellington's promise, when the learned Doctor was made a privy counsellor, that he should now be consulted on any subject but ecclesiastical questions. The learned gentleman was muzzled. He had in a former Session a petition to present against tithes; but on hearing from

1810.

the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that he had it in contemplation to make some arrangement, he deferred presenting it. He kept it, however, for the next session, knowing him to be under any circumstances a slippery person, upon whom no dependence was to be placed. Mr. Perceval opposed the motion, as nothing was more dangerous, than to awaken the expectations of the people, where they were to receive nothing. Mr. Hutchinson said, if this country meant to hold any faith with Ireland, an enquiry should be immediately instituted. England was pledged by the act of Union to do all in her power to ameliorate the situation of the people of Ireland. Even Mr. Wilberforce argued, that the bare act of resolving into such a committee was calculated (so far, as was alleged, from producing discontent) to engender hope, and all its concomitant blessings. Sir G. Hill thought, that to go into a committee would be to hold out false hopes to the people. The house then divided—for the motion 48—against it 69—majority against the motion 21\*.

\* The thin attendance of Irish Members on a question, in which the peace and happiness of their country is so deeply involved, shews how little the interests of Ireland are attended to in the Imperial Parliament.

List of the minority, who voted on Mr. Parnell's motion respecting tithes.

Abercromby, Hon. J.	Herbert, H. A.	Parnell, H.
Adams, C.	Hutchinson, C.	Ponsonby, G. sen.
Babington, T.	Latouche, J.	Porchester, Lord.

On the 18th of May, Mr. Grattan regretted the lateness of the hour, and lamented, that there should have been manifested a disposition to get the start of him, as the subject was of vital consequence to the country; it embraced the entire of the Empire. If he should live to see the object of the petition fully completed, he should consider himself a most fortunate man. He should then

1810.  
Debate upon the Catholic petition in the Commons. Mr. Grattan.

Bernard, S.	Leigh, J. H.	Power, K.
Bernard, Thomas.	Loftus, General.	Prettie, F. A.
Brand, T.	Lemon, C.	Sharp, R.
Calcraft, J.	Lockart, J. J.	Smith, John
Campbell, D.	Lloyd, J. M.	Smith, W.
Cayendish, W.	Macdonald, J.	Talbot, R. W.
Creevy, T.	Manning, W.	Temple, Earl.
Curwen, J.	Mathew, M.	Tierney, G.
Evelin, L.	Maule, W.	Tracy, H.
Fitzgerald, W.	Milton, Visc.	Westeren, C. C.
Fitzgerald, M.	Morris, E.	Whitbread, S.
Grant, M.	Moore, P.	Wilberforce, W.
Grattan, H.	Newport, Sir J.	Wynne, C. C.
Halsey, John.	O'Hara, C.	

Irish Members, who voted in the Majority.

Daigenan, P.	Foster, T.	Jocelyn, Lord.
Barry, J.	Foster, J.	Pole, W.
Bagwell, W.	Foster, J. L.	Mahon, S.
Montgomery, Sir H.	Clements, H.	
Croker, J. W.	Hill, V. G.	

From the foregoing list it appears, that out of the hundred Irish Representatives, twenty seven only voted on this most important question to Ireland. And if the freeholders of Ireland approve of such conduct, they must make up their minds to endure the pressure of tithes and other miseries, whilst they return those, who will not attend to their interests.



1810.

have to contemplate two advantages; both of which were dear to him, his Catholic fellow subjects in Ireland put upon an equality with their fellow citizens; and the consolidation of the Empire founded on liberty and law. He had in giving notice of his motion stated, that he meant to rest it upon the extension of British privilege, and the exclusion of foreign nomination. In order to induce the house to keep in mind the probability of an arrangement with the Catholics, he stated, that there were two grand principles, upon which it might be accomplished; the exclusion of foreign nomination, and the communication of constitutional privileges. With respect to the first, there were different modes of attaining the object. One was by a *Veto*, the other by an absolute law of exclusion. He appealed to the candour of the house upon this subject; but he had to state, that as far as he was able to collect the sense of the Catholics, they were adverse to a *Veto*. His own opinion was in favour of a *Veto*. It would be better for the Protestants, and of no injury to the Catholics, to have the *Veto*. He did not consider it as likely to produce any undue or sinister interest in the Catholic body. If he had, he should have opposed it. The Pope was the best judge of the fitness of the Catholic; the first magistrate of the country was the best judge of the allegiance of the subject. But he should deceive the house, were he to say, that the Catholics were likely to accede to the principle of a *Veto*. It followed then as a matter of course, that some other mode should be

adopted, in order to exclude foreign influence; that mode was *domestic nomination*. By domestic nomination, affecting foreign influence, he did not mean to say (for he knew the Catholic religion too well to attempt to say it), that the first magistrate should have all the powers, which essentially belonged to the Mother Church. He did not think those powers would be formidable. The Pope was merely a *spiritual* power. He could not exert a *temporal* power; but if the Pope should become a subject of France, and if the time should come, when the Pope should be a Frenchman, or rather when a Frenchman should be made a Pope, then the power of nomination would be in the person at the head of the French government; and consequently, the power of nomination would be in our natural enemy\*. He wished the house to consider, what would be the relative situation of the two countries, if France appointed, through the Pope, the Catholic Bishops, and the laws of this country excluded the Catholics from any offices in the State. There would be a political separation between the Catholics in Ireland, and the Protestants in England; and an ecclesiastical connection between the Catholics in Ireland and the government of France. With a view to the liberty and the safety of the Empire, that would be a case of extreme danger. The Roman Catholics knew,

\* As far as the report of Mr. Grattan's explanation on this subject can be understood, there was confusion in his mind upon the right of collating spiritual jurisdiction upon a person nominated, and foreign appointment.

1810.

that they had within themselves the nomination of the Catholic Bishops; they knew, that all the spiritual qualities might remain in the Pope, and yet the nomination be entirely domestic. That such were the sentiments of the Catholics, was proved not only by their answers to the propositions submitted to them, as tests of their principles, but it was proved by the resolutions of the year 1799\*. He remarked, that, supposing the enemy were to name that Prelate, who was at the head of the Catholic religion, the Catholics of Ireland were persuaded, that no religion ought to make a man obey the enemy of his country; for if it were otherwise, there would be this inconsistency; the Catholics of Ireland would be subject to two masters; they would be subject to their natural King, and subject to their natural enemy†. This was a situation, which was unnatural; the allegiance due to the one must destroy the allegiance due to the other. He had no manner of doubt, that when the question was fully considered, the Catholics of Ireland would have no hesitation in establishing a domestic nomination; and he entreated the house to contemplate the happy conse-

\* It is hardly credible, that Mr. Grattan's intuitive and discriminating mind should not distinguish between the *pure spiritual* calls of Christianity, which are not subject to the controul of man, and the civil duties of the subject, which are essentially the creature of, and subject to human legislation.

† The terms *subject* and *natural* are here most confusedly misapplied. Allegiance is not applicable to the Pope: mere *spiritual* submission to a human being is as different from civil subjection, as light from darkness.



1810  
quences, which would result from such a conduct on the part of the Catholics of Ireland. In the first place, the good consequences, that would arise, would be a considerable addition to the general happiness and prosperity of the people of Ireland. Secondly, the advantages of constitutional franchises to the laity; and thirdly, to the Empire at large, the entirety of its dominion. What he meant was, that no spiritual magistrate\* should be appointed by any foreign nomination whatever; for as long as that was the case, there must be danger; but when that ceased to be the case, and they were appointed by a domestic nomination; he should consider the Catholics as isolated with regard to the Pope, and he should consider, that every civil right, which the Protestants enjoyed, ought to be communicated to the Catholics. Parliament had no right to punish religion; because religion is a relation, in which man stands with respect to his Maker, independent of any political consideration. He said, he should not go into any abstract consideration of that question. The Catholics denied, that the Pope had any temporal power in this country; they denied, that the Pope, or a Cardinal, had a disposing power; they disclaimed the doctrine of no faith with heretics; the infallibility of the Pope, and the doctrine of unqualified absolution. These were the principles

\* The term, *magistrate*, which carries upon the face of it the possession and right of exercising external and coactive power, is not applicable to *spiritual power*, which *vi sua* can neither possess nor exercise it.

1810.

adopted by the Catholics; who, as an additional test, were ready to swear, that they would support the Protestant Church, and the Protestant establishment of Church and Government. This oath had been taken by the Catholics generally; the test had been proposed to them by the Protestants, and they had answered the test. He then proceeded to argue on the utter impossibility of the charges against the Catholics being true. He supposed he should be answered, that the danger did not so much consist in the Catholic religion, as in the Irish Catholics; he should be glad to know how the charge was made out? He was sure no Irishman would make such a charge, and he would not believe an Irishman on his oath, if he gave evidence against his country. He asserted, there was nothing in the Catholic religion, or in the composition of an Irish Catholic, that was hostile to the constitution of this country, and if he were to look for the grounds of the objection against the Catholics of Ireland, he should find them in the penal laws of the land. It appeared, as if the English Protestants reproached the Catholics of Ireland, by saying, "We are a wealthy people; but as to you, poor fellows, you are not capable of being free." Such language tended to lower and debase their minds, and to prepare them for a foreign invader. He contrasted the state of Ireland, at the period, when it was sunk and oppressed, with its condition at a subsequent time, when its freedom was, in some degree, insured, when its army was rendered secure by a mutiny

bill, when it enjoyed a free trade, and possessed other advantages, which an enlightened system of policy had imparted to it. He observed, that at that period, the prosperity of Ireland burst upon us like morn. Young Ireland came on us like a giant, rejoicing in its strength—trade flourished—agriculture encreased—the power of nature seemed to stand at the right hand side of her Parliament. Religious harmony shut the gates of discord, when Parliament opened the gates of commerce. He concluded by remarking, that it had cost three hundred years of experience to conquer unjust prejudices with regard to the Catholics. He rejoiced to see the infatuation and madness, which had so long prevailed, at length subsided. To the honor of the country, there was not a single petition on the table against the Catholics of Ireland. The city of London had scorned to present a petition. The city of Dublin it was true, had proposed one, but it had been rejected. The University of Oxford had, by the judicious choice of its Chancellor, signified their approbation of the principle, upon which the present claims of the Catholics were founded. In 1793, they established popery in North America, and they had recently sent two armies to maintain the Catholics of Spain and Portugal in all their rights. (France out of the way), there was not one Papist they had not embraced, except their own countrymen.

Sir John Cox Hipplesley seconded the motion of Sir J. C. Hipplesley  
Mr. Grattan. The course he proposed to take was seconds the  
derived from his own experience, and was consist- motion.

1810.



1810.

ent with that peculiar combination of circumstances, which had probably induced his Right Hon. Friend to make that reference (to the *Veto*), which it was now his duty to meet: a duty no less urgent with regard to those friends, who had made such sacrifices in support of this great question, at an antecedent period, than to the claims of many millions of their fellow subjects, to whose valour and fidelity they were now constrained to resort for the preservation of whatever was dear to them, even whilst they obstinately and unjustly excluded them from the participation of what they efficiently preserved. He lamented, that a part of that community had by their own acts and declarations, since the question was last discussed in 1808, not a little contributed to produce unseasonable impressions and injurious prejudices against those of their parliamentary friends, who had invariably and earnestly sought to aggrandize the Empire by the united and free energies of their Catholic countrymen. The cause in agitation was not merely that of an insulated part of the community: it was the cause of the whole State: the vital organs of its power and the consolidation of all its physical and moral energies were in question, whilst, as Mr. Grattan had formerly said, *All Europe was arrayed in battalion against us*. The proceedings and animadversions connected with the *Veto*, had principally checked the growing progress of a favourable disposition to the Catholic question in the public mind: and the indiscreet effusions of some Catholic writers had supplied new arguments to

their enemies. Nevertheless from about two months after Mr. Grattan's motion on this subject in 1808, down to that hour, the Irish press had poured forth in rapid succession the most unqualified calumnies against those, who had favoured the measure (of *Veto*), which, in fact, had its origin with the four metropolitan, and six other senior prelates of the Roman Catholic communion in Ireland. The Hon. Baronet sorely complained of one publication, which he attributed to the pen of a Roman Catholic Irish prelate, from which he read the following amongst other passages. "The pretended necessity for a *Veto* is a stale trick, a mere *finesse* to cozen Catholics out of their religion: a manoeuvre to effect by intrigue and cunning, what the most persecuting laws were unable to bring about: it is holding out an insidious flag of truce to betray the garrison, and take it by surprise: but the Irish are clear-sighted, and though from nature *generous* and *unsuspicious*, they now have had sufficient experience to teach them to the contrary." Here the Hon. Baronet\* reca-

1810.

\* Whoever has the happiness of being acquainted with Sir J. C. Hippley, knows him to be incapable of insincerity, duplicity, or even official dissimulation. He has ever been the upright, hearty, and indefatigable friend to the Catholic cause. It is the amiable foible of the ingenuous and sincere to be unsuspicious and unguarded against deception and intrigue: to be prodigal of their credit to others, as in social intercourse, they deal in no other, than the medium of undisguised truth. The Hon. Baronet was amongst the admirers of and believers in Mr. Pitt's professions. He was honoured with such a portion of the great man's confidence, as just qualified him to perform the part

1810.

pitulated minutely the whole negociation of 1799, with the full knowledge and recollection of which

allotted to him, without being initiated into the *denouement* of the piece, which that crafty intriguer was then getting up. No man will believe, that the honorable and honest Baronet would in 1801 have told Mr. Fox or Lord Grey, or any of the Whig party, that they ought not to co-operate with him in supporting the question of Catholic Emancipation (as Mr. Pitt unguardedly did), on account of the principles upon which it was brought forward. No: he never acted upon disguised principles. The candor, that pervades this whole speech, the instruction it conveys, the utility of it to the Catholic cause place him above such imputation. With the best intentions however of acting up to the fair principles of religious freedom, it is feared, that advantage has been taken of his easy access, of his avidity for information, of his reluctance to place to the account of dissimulation, what can be accounted for upon no other principle. In every instance adduced in his speech of negociation or concordat between temporal powers and the See of Rome, there was some civil establishment enjoyed by the clergy within the state of the negotiating party, with reference to which alone it arose or depended. Ireland is the only Christian nation, which has for centuries maintained a regular hierarchy without any civil establishment, in defiance of a code of criminal and sanguinary laws. The state of the question from its first proposal has grown from a limited civil objection to nomination, which might prevent, though it could not immediately interfere with the actual presentation of a Bishop elect to the Pope, or break in upon his Holiness's paramount right of appointing and confirming without nomination or election (upon the expediency of which Catholics might lawfully differ), into a formal renunciation of all spiritual dependence upon the See of Rome for the collation of that *spiritual jurisdiction*, which the sound Catholic believes at this hour essentially requisite to constitute a rightful governor of the Church of Christ. No foreign jurisdiction, no foreign dependence, say Lord Grenville and Mr. Grattan and their followers in *Veto*.



he charged the author of that harsh accusation : particularly with his not being ignorant of the origin of the measure he thus deprecated.

1810.

By the Baronet's own account of the negotiation or concordat of 1799, it originated with government, and not with the Prelates, although they easily gave into what they afterwards most sternly retracted. The Baronet's account of the transaction is simple, commands credit, and does away the forced apologies for the retractors; viz. that they acted under threat and promise: "that the resolutions were signed in fear and solicitude, whilst the reign of terror was still breathing: and under little less than a menace: that a pension to the clergy was the pre-amble of the written concession. In a word, that they were set *and plied* by the minister of Ireland (the proverbially lubricious Lord Viscount Castlereagh)." "Now, with respect to the fact of those resolutions having been influenced by the reign of terror, and dictated by menace, Lord Castlereagh, who was the ex-minister alluded to, is most competent to speak; and should any facts, connected with transactions of the government of Ireland of that period, be misstated by Sir J. C. Hippeley, it would be subject to the correction of that noble Lord, with whom, during the whole of these transactions, he had maintained a confidential correspondence, and particularly at the instance of the minister of the home department (the Duke of Portland); and the continuation of it was repeatedly solicited by the noble Viscount himself. (Lord Castlereagh nodded assent). That he could, from these circumstances, speak with greater confidence with respect to the measures then in the contemplation of government; many of which had been suggested by *himself*, and approved of by his Majesty's ministers; nor was he less in familiar habits of correspondence, at the same period, with some of the most eminent prelates, who were parties to these resolutions, and were fully apprized of the situation, in which he stood with the King's ministers. Nothing could be more strongly marked in their correspondence, than their unqualified reliance on the honor of those ministers; their communications with the Castle were unembarrassed by apprehensions, if any faith is to be reposed in state-

1810.

Further  
particulars  
of Sir J. C.  
Hippesley's  
speech.

This speech of Sir John Cox Hippesley imparted more information upon the state of Catholics in his Majesty's dominions, than any delivered within the walls of Parliament. He ably defended the Roman Catholics against the calumnies of Dr. Duigenan, who was (it must be presumed by injunction) absent from the debate; he pointedly remarked, (it made a strong sensation upon the House) that many of the religious practices and

ments; an *apparent reciprocal friendly understanding* was the basis of all their proceedings."

The honor and candor of Sir J. C. Hippesley, who manifests such tender anxiety for the religion and consciences of the Catholic hierarchy of Ireland, will certainly take their sense and judgment from their joint deliberations in synodical convocation, rather than from the accommodating (perhaps eager) concession of 10 individual prelates, induced or tempted to act without the concurrence, approbation, or authority, nay even without the privity of the rest of their body: more especially, when the national synod was holden for the specific purpose of reviewing that very act of concession. The candid Baronet will not disqualify these respectable prelates, far the most dignified function of the human mind, deliberate and public retraction of error. He, who with the most honorable and upright intentions clothed the hollow proffer of the Castle with his own substantial integrity, will largely sympathize with 10 individuals even of refined respectability, long enured to depression and persecution, unequivocally trusting the words of their governors, unhackneyed in the ways of courts, nay led on and encouraged by a friend of tried sincerity, when they yielded to this novel blandishment of government, lavish of their promises of constant favor, honorable protection and valuable remuneration. Would they have listened to a Nestor, who in that moment of fascination, should have whispered to them

1810.

doctrines, which were reprobated and condemned in the Catholics, were observances and tenets enjoined by their own religion and canons. But of all the interesting documents, which he produced or referred to, was the extract from a sermon, preached before the clergy in convocation at St. Paul's,\* in July 1807, soon after the *No Popery* ad-

\* It was a discourse delivered in Latin to the clergy convened in convocation in the cathedral church of St. Paul's in London. On these solemn occasions, the reverend individuals convoked being supposed conversant with the learned languages, *more Romanorum*, the service is performed in Latin. The sermon delivered in that language was afterwards published *Jussu reverendissimi*: which said more than a common *imprimatur*. It was an ordinance from the head of the convocation, importing the aggregate approbation of the meeting of all, that the sermon contained. It was entitled "*Concio Apud Synodum Cantuariensem Æde Paulinâ habita IX. Kal. Jul. 1807.*" The circumstance of the spiritual head of the established church, who issued this *Jussu Reverendissimi* being the brother of the holder of his Majesty's conscience in Ireland, helps to disclose the system of rewarding calumny in proportion to the publicity and coarseness, with which it is cast upon his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects. It is a trite observation, that a clergyman will usher into a mixed society in a Latin wrapper, what he would blush to express to a confidant in his vernacular tongue. Sir J.C. Hippenley with a sort of clerical sympathy has given this interesting extract in the learned language: it behoves the author to translate it into the tongue, in which he writes his history. "But whilst they (that is the Roman Catholics) hold all, who were out of the pale of their own church as heretics and doomed to eternal torments; whilst they assume to themselves sovereign dominion even over kings themselves, whilst they openly profess, that no faith is to be kept with heretics; whilst, I say, we behold these damnable doctrines to have been broached, and to be daily still broached by that Antichrist, what dangers, think ye, would hang over us, should they be admitted into any participation of political



1810.

ministration came into power. Grosser calumny was never uttered against the Catholics by a Duigenan or a Giffard. In consistency, the accredited and clerical calumniator was more amply remunerated, by how much the situation of a bishop exceeds that of a privy counsellor or an officer in the customs.

Continuation of Sir J. C. Hip-  
pesley's  
speech.

The Honourable Baronet closed a most instructive speech, (which he has kindly left to posterity by publishing it himself) in this manner. "He had spoken with frankness, and though his own labours in the cause, seemed from some particulars he had lately heard, to be less valued by his friends on the other side of the water, than they had been at a former period, he was not less disposed to serve them; not from its being abstractedly the cause of the Catholics, but as it was the cause of the empire; the union of all, as the legis-

power. The most deplorable persecutions, originating from this source, which our ancestors suffered, have taken too deep root in our minds to be effaced by any lapse of time. Let them not say, that the existing generations are more moderate, more just, more humane than the past: that they are now no longer, what we ourselves remember them to have been. As long as that rule of action and faith, to which they square every thing prevails, so long will it be necessary to hold them in dread, as enemies of all law both human and divine, and to proscribe them both from our courts and armies." This slanderous anathema against nearly one third of his Majesty's subjects rewarded with the first vacant mitre, is deplorable evidence of the vice of the system most impiously forced into the very sanctuary.

*Invidiam placare paras, virtute relicta?*

*Shall cast off virtue rankling hate assuage?*

1810.

lature itself pronounced it, in the bonds of reciprocal interests and affection. To the Catholic and Protestant bigot he felt himself equally indisposed, and he recommended to many Catholics to throw aside their flippant ill-directed attacks on their firmest friends, and not outstrip their adversaries in the race of calumny. They had to combat the honest prejudices of a great people, the early impressions of youth, and the fierce zealot, as well as the timid and ill instructed mass of their fellow-subjects. It was a melancholy truth, that the best informed on other subjects, the philosopher and statesman, were often most ignorant of this, which vitally affected the interests, the feelings, and the honor, as he had before observed, of millions of the people, and the security of the empire itself! Repeated discussions in this House and out of it, had done much, and would do more. Some acrimony had recently and unfortunately been excited by misconception and misrepresentation, but he trusted it would disperse and be forgotten. "*Illiacos intra muros peccatur et extra.*" In the choice of measures, he only wished to see those adopted, that could ensure the great ends of conciliation by the least exceptionable means,\* to

\* The Hon. Baronet observes in a note, that he had fallen under the censure of Dr. O'Connor, "*Columbanus.*" in a late pamphlet referring to the sketch of a proposal (No. V. of the Appendix) says, "That Sir John C. Hippley with the best intentions has yet to learn to calculate on the different bearings of a subject, which involves the divine and ecclesiastical rights of the second order of their clergy."

1810.

assure the rights of conscience to every description of our fellow-subjects, and to guard religiously the bulwarks of our constitution for the security of all. To promote this great object, he cheerfully seconded the motion of his Right Hon. Friend."

Sir W. Scott  
opposes the  
Petition.

On resuming the debate Sir William Scott complying with the wishes of his constituents opposed the petitions, which were couched in the same unqualified terms as formerly. There were no conditions proposed, no reserves, no qualifications expressed. The Rt. Hon. Gent. had argued in favour of the Veto being conceded by the Catholics, but from this they were expected to shrink with disgust and horror. Domestic nomination had been protested against. If they refused to give the Veto, how could it be expected they would submit to a domestic nomination? There might be persons of that community willing to admit this or that expedient to conciliate matters; but those gentlemen, though they might be gentlemen of great respectability, were not the guides, the pastors, the lights of the Church. They were not the organs of the Catholic community, and he was satisfied, that whatever concessions of that kind those individuals might make, they would not be implicitly followed by the great body of the Catholics. He inferred, that to ask the Catholics to submit to domestic nomination, was in other words to ask them to cease to be Catholics, and when they called upon them to cease to be Catholics without conversion, what must they think of the individual, who complied, either as a member of the Roman Ca-



tholic Church, or as a man? If every difficulty arising from law or religion, could be gotten over, still would there be reason for a Protestant, or (as they call it) a non-catholic government, to refuse to accede to the petition. The influence of persons in their church was greater, than that of common pastors; and spiritual power, converted into a temporal engine, was of sufficient importance to create alarm. He thought their prayer could not be granted, or the security proposed by the Right Hon. Gentleman, as on such security no non-catholic government could rely for the safety of its civil and religious establishments.

1810.

Sir John Newport said, the claim of the Catholics had been for a considerable time evaded, through scruples arising from the Coronation Oath, which had at length been abandoned, or at least suffered to sink for a time into oblivion. The Hon. Baronet enquired, why cause had been given for those complaints, which had come over from the army in Sicily? Why were the Catholic clergymen refused access to the Catholic soldiers there? If they were treated thus, what could be expected from them but languid compliance and passive obedience? Give the Catholic the same encouragement, and he will embark in the cause with the same ardour as the Protestant. But under all these discouraging circumstances, they had embarked heartily in the cause. We had to say, they had deserved well. The system pursued seemed to be such, as would emanate from a desire to prevent their deserving better. It was impossible to

Sir J. Newport supports the petition.

1810.

think, the same zeal could be felt in the common cause among men, between whom such a disparity of interest existed. That enthusiasm in the cause of his country, which is felt by him, who shares its privileges, could not be expected from men, who felt they were not complete sharers in them. It was not in human nature.

Lord  
Castlereagh  
against the  
Catholics.

Lord Castlereagh did not conceive the privileges claimed by the Catholics could with safety be communicated to them. The question was; looking at the power of the Catholic and Protestant parties, whether their claims being allowed, the presumable Catholic power, which might get into the system, would not be sufficient to endanger the Protestant Government and establishments? He apprehended, that the Catholics, in the present case, pressed their claims on the Legislature in their proper situation. The Catholic Church had hitherto gone on without any sacrifice of its doctrine. In 1799, Lord Cornwallis communicated to some few confidants of the Catholic body the plan, which Government had formed with respect to their bishops; one part of that arrangement was confined simply to the necessity of being informed, who the titular bishop was to be; that it might have it in its power to make any reasonable objection. He conceived it would powerfully satisfy the feelings both of the state and of the country, if Ireland knew, that its bishops received the sanction of the Protestant Government. On that principle there could be no objection to its claims. He assured the House, that

it was not the intention of the clergy to run before the Government in this measure; they did not appear at all jealous of the power of the state; nor consider it to be inconsistent with the tenets of their church. This circumstance was but a small branch of the intended system; the detail would not be entered into, until it had been wholly approved of by the Government, and by his Majesty; and brought forward in its proper shape. With the See of Rome, it should be made with the knowledge of Government, and passed under its eye, in order that every improper attempt might be prevented. In Ireland, the dissenter had received endowment, which tended to the encrease of that body. However, he did not quite approve of that measure. He would vote now precisely, as he had done before on the same question; but it would be chiefly on the grounds, that he did not feel, from the present circumstances of the country, this to be a proper time for Catholics to produce their claims, although he would freely admit them, provided they were to make concessions consistent with the faith and purity of their church. He would not have persuaded them to bring their question forward at any period since the union.

\* This mysterious plan of Mr. Pitt's arrangements was so craftily kept from his subalterns and even colleagues, that Lord Chancellor Eldon openly complained in the debate on the Catholic question in the House of Lords, on the 19th of June, 1811, that the refusal to state them to him at that time and at every intermediate interval up to that present hour furnished him with a full reason for opposing Lord Donoughmore's motion for going into a Committee.



1810.

He was of opinion, that the Catholic discussion had rather diminished, than increased the number of its friends; the cause had suffered and was thrown to an immeasurable distance. He had the impression, that their claims might be complied with, consistent with Protestant safety, if connected with the necessary safeguards. Since the Union, he had observed in the Protestants a reluctance to the measure: he was satisfied the Roman Catholics might expect every thing from the liberality of the Protestant mind. Bigotry would exist in all religions; yet he was confident the Protestants were a most liberal and enlightened body, and would grant the claims of their Roman Catholic countrymen, if fairly grounded.

Mr. Ponsonby supports the motion subject to *Veto*.

Mr. Ponsonby having been called upon by the Right Hon. Gentleman to account for his former conduct in respect to the Catholic question, arose for that purpose, and gave that account, which has been anticipated (page 643, &c.) for the purpose of giving the most authentic result of the transaction with Dr. Milner and Lord Fingal, when it was narrated in chronological order. As to the *Veto* itself, his conduct had been guided by the opinions of others, rather than his own. He had never in the Irish Parliament mentioned such a proposition. Since then, the state of the world was materially changed; formerly the Pope was a Sovereign and an independant Prince; he is now under the dominion of France, and consequently it became necessary to have some restricting power, in order to prevent that nomination. With re-

1810.

spect to concessions, he thought the Catholics ought to agree to any propositions tending to satisfy the consciences of the Protestants, so as that proposition were not incompatible with their own religious opinions. The Protestants had no right to demand what was inconsistent with such opinions. No idea of foreign nomination should prevent him from supporting the cause of the Catholics, who, he must maintain, were entitled to profess their religion according to the tenets of their ancestors, and the right of enjoying the privileges of the Constitution, in common with their fellow subjects of another persuasion. If it had never been understood, that in conceding a Veto, the Catholics were doing that, which was essentially contrary to their proposed faith, it was evident that, Veto or no Veto, arrangement or no arrangement ministers were positively determined to concede nothing. To insinuate, that concessions were refused, because no distinct offer had been made by the Catholics, was dissimulation and hypocrisy. Was it wise to tell the Catholics, that they must make all advances, and then to sit silently and sullenly to receive them? To render Ireland tranquil her demands must at least be listened to. He knew Ireland and Irishmen well. Force could never secure Ireland. It had been tried for centuries, and at that very moment Great Britain was not more secure of Ireland, than during the most troublesome times. A noble Lord opposite had said, that the true remedy for the evil was for the landlords to reside in Ireland. The resident land-

1810.

lords were fewer than formerly on account of the Union; he therefore had better try his hand at a repeal of that measure. Ireland had never received from Great Britain any considerable advantage, but at the moment of British embarrassment. If Great Britain went on refusing every thing to Ireland, the House might depend upon it, that the Irish would think the Union had made their situation worse than ever; and that what they might have had the power of obtaining from their own Parliament, they would have no chance of procuring from that of the Empire. They would look to other or less legitimate friends, and the activity of the Emperor of France would not long leave them without the means of availing themselves of them, should they be induced to resort to such a desperate extremity. It was the duty of Ministers, and if they neglected that duty, it became the duty of Parliament, to tell his Majesty how he might avoid losing Ireland. He would stake his reputation, if the present system continued, that either during the life of his Majesty, or that of his immediate successor, such a convulsion would be experienced in Ireland, as would shake it to the centre, or separate it altogether from Great Britain.

Mr. Perceval against the motion for going in to the Committee.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer derived great satisfaction from that part of Mr. Ponsonby's speech, in which he cleared himself, from an imputation, which required explanation. He had great satisfaction in finding, that the Hon. Gentleman and his noble friend, two individuals, whose



1810.

characters unquestionably stood very high in the public regard, had not been convicted of grossly and foully imposing upon the House and the public, by holding out fallacious motives, to endeavour to induce Parliament to adopt a course of conduct, which under other circumstances, there could not have been the slightest doubt of their rejecting. Mr. Perceval was under difficulty in ascertaining with what the Catholics would really be satisfied. Did they coincide with the views of the honorable mover, or were they peculiarly his own? He understood Mr. Grattan to declare, that the Catholics would from him in vain expect the recommendation of concession to them, unless that concession were accompanied by a renunciation on their part of foreign influence. Now, after all the attention, that he could pay to Mr. Ponsonby, he was unable to collect, whether he agreed in that sentiment, or whether he differed from it, and thought, that without condition or stipulation every thing ought to be conceded to the Catholics, on the trust of what they might afterwards be disposed to do. It was material to know this. A great variety of opinions had been uttered during the debate. No one had been so explicit in the declaration of his sentiments, as the hon. mover; but in that declaration, he (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) had a right to take protection, against the repeated charge of intolerance; since by Mr. Grattan's opinion he was justified on the occasion, in which this intolerant spirit was ascribed to him, in resisting concessions, which according to that

1810.

opinion ought not to have been made without a correspondent provision. The humble mover argued, that no concessions ought to be yielded to the Catholics, without securing some concession on their part equivalent or analogous to the grant. What arrangement was to be substituted Mr. Grattan had not stated, and Mr. Ponsonby had said, that for many reasons it should not be extorted from him. What were the House to do if they went into a Committee on the petition? The Hon. Gen. opposite would not tell them, lest some ill-disposed persons should infuse it into the minds of the Irish, whatever the arrangement might be, that it was impossible the Catholics could accede to it. But in the Committee it seemed, that arrangement must be stated; if not, it certainly would be absurd to think of going into a Committee. Unless the concession to the Catholics, and the grounds on which that concession was to be made, were to be the subject of discussion in the Committee, it would assuredly be to no purpose to go into Committee at all. Both Mr. Grattan and Lord Grenville had declared it to be indispensable, that some distinct provision should accompany any concession to be made to the Catholics. Whatever expectations might be entertained by others, certainly he (Mr. Percival) and those, who thought with him, never were of opinion, that any such provision would be agreed to by the Catholics. Even had the Veto been conceded by them, or any other equivalent arrangement, how would it have been considered

1810.

as a valid agreement? In what way could a general concurrence of the Catholics have been enforced? If some of that body had resisted on the ground of religious scruples, what could have been done? Having once raised a general expectation, it would have been impossible to disappoint it. The Pope might have refused his sanction; the Catholics might have changed their opinion; and in either case, it would have been impracticable to punish, or to interfere with the hand of power, without incurring the just charge of the greatest intolerance. It would be just as intolerant to attempt to compel them, as it would be to require them to take the oath of supremacy. Besides the concurrence might be of no avail without the concordance of the Pope. His Holiness was not at present in a situation of independent action. If once the right of the Catholics to demand were admitted, he could not see, how it would be possible to stop short of giving them all they demanded. He saw no prospect of satisfying the Roman Catholic claimants by any measure short of giving them a full establishment of their Church. He had always felt so; and he had always argued so. Without therefore relinquishing that ground of objection, he had thought it sufficient to state what he had stated in opposition to the honble. mover, who to preserve consistency, ought to vote against his own motion, and not for it. For if there were no grounds for the hon. mover's belief, that the Catholics would consent to make a satisfactory arrangement, then the honble.



1810.

moxyer, for his own principles should oppose the referring the petition to a Committee, the result of whose proceedings must be, after having raised expectations, which it was impracticable to gratify, to leave the public mind in a state much worse than that in which it was found.

Mr. Chs.  
Hutchinson  
for the mo-  
tion without  
Veto.

The adjourned debate was resumed on the 1st of June by Mr. C. Hutchinson, who put many of the old arguments in a new light; with respect to the Veto, he called upon the House to recollect the statement of the Noble Lord (Castlereagh) relative to the connection between the Catholic clergy and the people of Ireland, and to consider the danger of weakening that connection, of asking the confidence of the hierarchy in the people, or *vice versa*. It was absurd to suppose, that the Catholics would ever consent to vest the appointment of those, who were to preside over their spiritual concerns, in any quarter supposed unfriendly to their religion, that they would consign the government of their church to those, who are too apt, as a reverend prelate of the established communion once said, to regard theirs as a religion fit only for knaves and fools, (alluding to an expression of Archbishop Agar). Such a concession was not to be expected from the Catholics, and he was surprised at the demand of it. But this Veto was, in fact, a mere stalking horse, the plea of desertion from the Catholic cause, the palliative of persecutors, the last retreat of presumption and monopoly. Upon what ground, he would ask, could this Veto be required. Was the loyalty of

1810.

the Catholic hierarchy to be impeached or impeachable? On the contrary, their fidelity to the state was so conspicuous, their exertion in support of the Government so signal, during the trying period of the insurrection, that it was notorious they were denounced among the leaders of the rebellion as "Orange bishops," as strenuous advocates for the views of government. Why then demand any additional pledge of loyalty from such men? Louis XIV. with much greater means of securing success, struggled in vain for the same object, and how could we then flatter ourselves, that it was attainable to us, particularly under existing circumstances. In fact, the Irish Catholics could not accede to the proposed grant of a Veto, without giving up their spiritual communion, without actually abandoning their creed. After some pungent animadversions upon the general conduct of ministers, from which he could not, he said, expect the support of any tolerant or wise proposition, the Hon. Gentleman appealed, in terms of peculiar animation, to the good sense and justice of the house. He conjured it to consider the general state of the Empire, the necessity that called for the union of all our people. He deprecated the idea of suffering bigotry to cut the sinews of our strength. Whatever the motives of those, by whom the laws referred to by the motion, were originally enacted, it was evident, that those motives no longer existed. "You," said the Hon. Member, "are now called upon to redress wrongs, which you had no concern in creating, to heal wounds, which

1810.

you have not had the misfortune to inflict. But if you decline to attend to the call, with what justice, can you arraign the conduct of Bonaparte towards any of the nations, whom he has subdued. Recollect what facilitated his conquests; what rendered the people indifferent to, if not anxious for a change of government; and weigh well, before it is too late, the consequences of refusing justice to Ireland. Posterity will look back with astonishment at your infatuation, will wonder at the discussion, which now engages you. Will you learn nothing from the desolation that surrounds you?

Mr. O'Hara  
and others.

Mr. O'Hara was sorry, that a sense of duty obliged him to differ on this occasion from many gentlemen, whom he respected, and particularly Mr. Grattan. The Marquis of Tavistock in his maiden speech observed, that if the house would go into a committee much discontent would be done away. Millions of our fellow-subjects in such an event, would not have it to say, that they had not been heard. As to the efficacy or inefficacy of the proposed Veto, it was not his Lordship's object to discuss it. He doubted whether the acceding to it would be esteemed a satisfactory security to the established Church on the one hand, or would be agreeable to the Catholics on the other. Sir T. Turton should be happy to see every existing disability taken away, not from the Catholics alone, but from every class of his Majesty's subjects; but never in his opinion, was there a time more unpropitious than the present for



1810.

such an attempt. Colonel Talbot reprobated the idea, now that the whole Continent was against us, of leaving to Bonaparte a vulnerable point in Ireland, where we might be attacked. By admitting the Catholic people of Ireland to a community of rights with us, we might have been enabled to send 100,000 of that nation to Spain, where, as being of the same religion, and, as they supposed, springing from the same stock, they would be more gratefully received than any other assistance we could have offered; and thus might we have been an effectual check to the successes of Bonaparte. Whereas could Bonaparte have dictated to our government the line of conduct they ought to pursue, he could not have devised one more suitable to his interests and wishes, than a continuance of the present system as to Ireland. Mr. Barnard could not agree to the Catholic demands, unless the controul of the crown over the nomination of their Bishops were conceded.

Mr. Parnell was happy to find it conceded on all hands, that there was no wish to claim to the crown the patronage of the nomination of the Catholic Bishops. This had not been clearly understood by the Catholics before, else he had no doubt, they would have made a suitable advance. Sir R. Milbank considered the Irish Catholics as our faithful fellow-subjects and allies, who had been ill-treated. We were pursuing a system, which had gone a great way to alienate their affections. Mr. M'Naughten desired gentlemen to look at the number of penal statutes against Roman

Mr. Parnell decidedly against Veto.

1810:

Catholics, which had been repealed. Mr. Barham declared, that in his conception the claims of the Roman Catholics, both of England and Ireland, stood on the most absolute and indefeasible right. And those men did the most irreparable injury to religion, who thought it could only be supported by penal statutes.

The Irish  
Secretary  
against pe-  
tition.

Mr. Dundas, the Irish Secretary put it to Mr. Grattan to state his specific object in going into the committee. Was he prepared to say, that the Catholics would concur in whatever pledge he might offer in that committee? Did he concur with Lord Grenville in thinking, that discussion at the present period, would rather injure than promote the object of the Catholic claims? Did he agree with Lords Landsdown and Grey in that opinion? If he did, why did he act contrary to it? Mr. W. Wynne asked, if the Right Hon. Gentleman, who last spoke, really believed, that the discussion of the Catholic claims in 1805, and in 1808

-1807. M.  
-1808. M.  
-1809. M.

were injurious, or rather were not beneficial to the Catholic cause? He should vote for going into the committee.

Mr. M.  
Fitzgerald  
for the pe-  
tition with  
Veto.

Mr. Maurice Fitzgerald, in a speech which made much impression, defended the justice of the Catholic claims. He did not concur with Lord Grenville as to his view of the necessity of the Veto. He could not imagine a case, in which danger could be apprehended from admitting the Catholics to the benefits they claimed, while the Catholic hierarchy remained on their present footing. Here he entered into a high eulogium upon the

Roman Catholic prelacy of Ireland. — He animadverted upon the reasoning of Sir William Scott, who would visit upon the enlightened Catholics of the present day the vengeance he thought due to the alleged errors of their remote ancestors.

1810.

The Solicitor General was not hostile to the Catholics, but he thought no practical good could result from the adoption of the motion. Mr. W. Smith supported the motion upon the ground, that where liberality was manifested in all states, peace and tranquillity were the certain consequences. Lord George Grenville felt it his duty to state, that when allusions were made to the letter of his relation, it behoved those, who quoted it, not to misapply it; to read the whole of that letter, and not judge from a partial passage. Mr. P. Moore observed, that for the extension of the rights of men to the Irish Catholics he was almost warm advocate, convinced, that in making their appeal to that house, they paid it the highest compliment. Mr. Grattan's reply contained strength, but no novelty of argument. He thus concluded: If they did not go into the committee now, they would every day see the folly, the crime, the misery of their decision, and hereafter they would be forced to grant those privileges to compulsion, which at this moment they might bestow as a boon. Mr. Ryder, in explanation, never said he entirely coincided with Lord Grenville; but that he agreed with him, that the Veto alone was sufficient to destroy the present claim, without entering upon any other ground. There were for Mr. Grattan's

Solicitor  
General  
against  
the motion.



1810.

Debates in  
the Lords  
upon the  
Catholic  
petition.  
Lord Do-  
noughmore.

motion 109—against it 213—majority against the Catholic claims 104.

In the house of Lords, on the 6th of June, the Earl of Donoughmore said, he was fully aware of the difficulties, that had arisen out of recent events; but the petitioners were the best judges of their own case, and with respect to this application had decided for themselves. His Lordship had expressed a strong disapprobation of certain strictures on Lord Grenville's letter, and particularly as coming professedly from a quarter deeply interested in the success of these petitions, and recommended to his Catholic countrymen a candid appreciation of the motives of those public men, who had never deserted their public duty. He then took a luminous view of the whole case, as it bore upon the existing law and policy of the country. His Lordship then went over the different measures, which had been adopted for the purpose of relaxing the restrictions on the Catholics, and contended, that the Catholics had never been deficient in gratitude for those concessions; but had been always ready to render complete justice to themselves and to others. The refusal of the Catholics to disclaim the authority of the Pope in spiritual matters, was, however, the master objection against those of the present day, which appeared like Aaron's serpent, to have swallowed up all the rest. No man was so ignorant as not to know, that its professed unity in doctrine and in discipline, under one and the same declared head was the essential distinguishing characteristic of

1810.

the Catholic Church, and yet they were told, that the Irish Catholics were the most unreasonable of men, because they would not renounce, upon oath, this first tenet of their religion, and consent to recognize a new head of their church in the person of a Protestant King. The Irish Catholic, under the existing tests, solemnly abjured the authority of the Pope in all temporal matters, pledged himself to be a faithful subject of the King, and to defend the succession of the crown, and the arrangement of property as now established by law, and that he will not exercise any privilege, to which he is, or may become entitled, to disturb the Protestant religion or Protestant government. What possible ground of apprehension could there be, which was not effectually provided against by the terms of this oath. With respect to that ill-fated Veto, the introduction of which into the Catholic vocabulary he witnessed with sincere regret, he could only say for himself, that he wanted no additional security; but he was equally ready to acknowledge, that it was the bounden duty of the Catholic, whenever the happy moment of conciliation should arrive, to go the full length his religion would permit him, to quiet the scruples, however groundless and imaginary, of the Protestant legislature. The recent resolutions of the counties of Kildare and Tipperary, and of the general committee, afforded evidence most convincing, that such was the cordial feeling of the Catholic body, and which he was persuaded their prelacy would be ready to meet with corresponding feelings on their

1810.

part, and what was not less satisfactory, they did not appear to foresee any difficulty in effectuating those arrangements, which the present unfortunate situation of the holy see would certainly render most desirable, perhaps indispensable, in the view of some attached friends to the measure. When ever that moment should arrive, he trusted it would be recollected, 1st. That they could not expect to dispatch the spiritual rights of the Sovereign Pontiff by the formality of a few negative words in a restrictive provision, without his own previously obtained consent. And 2dly, That till the Catholic religion should cease to exist, the doctrines and discipline of that church must continue to be united under one and the same head. He wished, however, to be understood, that he spoke from no authority but that of his own mind, and that he was not the *Charge D'Affaires* of any man or body of men, lay or ecclesiastical. He had thus endeavoured to state the grounds, on which he founded his argument for granting to the Catholics a full and complete participation in every right, privilege, and immunity of the British constitution; in doing which, like the quality of that endearing attribute of Omnipotent power, their merciful dispensations would be twice blessed; in him, that gives and him that receives, in the deliverance of enfranchised Catholic millions from unmerited insult and degradation, and in the increased and assured security of the Protestant state, presenting to every insolent menace of the implacable foe to the British name and greatness, a wall



of adamant in the unconquerable energies of an united people. His Lordship concluded by moving to refer the petition of the general body of the Irish Catholics to a committee of the whole house.

1810.

The Earl of Clancarty vehemently opposed the motion. The Irish Catholic Church contended for papal supremacy to a greater degree than any other nation. He admitted, that it was vain and impracticable to attempt the abolition of that religion in Ireland, and wished, that some arrangement could be adopted. His Lordship expressed himself friendly to a public provision for the Catholic clergy; but until some plan was formed and proposed, he should object to going into a committee.

Lord Clancarty  
against the  
motion.

Lord Erskine professed himself among the warmest adherents to Protestantism. It was not the effect of prejudice, that led him to regard the papal superstition as having been the greatest drawback upon the benevolent effects of christianity on mankind; since our Saviour came into the world. But he believed, that the papal superstition and the Roman Catholic faith were not precisely the same thing. His Lordship read passages from a book, which justified him in voting for going into the committee. In that book the superior Catholic clergy had distinctly, and calling God to witness, declared their loyalty to the civil establishment, and the constitutional Sovereign of this kingdom. They had also disavowed, solemnly, all obedience to bulls and rescripts issued

Lord Erskine for  
going into  
a committee.

1810.

by the papal power, under confinement, and to any election of the successor of the Pontiff not irregularly and canonically made. In the name of that God, whom they invoked, said his Lordship, what could be wanted farther? But he was confident, that his noble friend, absent through indisposition, (Lord Grenville) would have voted for going into a committee, since he had particular arrangements to propose, which in that committee could be best considered. His Lordship then paid high compliments to Lord Grenville's letter to Lord Fingal, and quoted several passages from Mr. Burke's letter to Sir H. Langrishe, in which that great man, who shrank like the sensitive plant from anything, that bordered in his mind, on useless or dangerous innovation, so far from looking on this subject in such a light, manifested his warmest friendship for it in the most interesting terms. He stated the dreadful effect of so many millions of fellow-subjects, in a state of degradation, fit only to become the instruments of a wise despot, or the agents of a terrible revolution. The Lord Chancellor never could consent to the demands of those petitions, or to hazard a material alteration, in what had been made by our ancestors a Protestant constitution and state. He commented on the letter of Lord Grenville to Lord Fingal, which stated, "that much was to be done," and many complicated measures adopted in the way of concession, and wished to know what was meant by, "much to be done," in this important business. As, therefore, he could not

learn, that any thing practical was to be proposed; he should object to a committee on these petitions. He meant no reflection on the Catholics; but if no conscientious Catholic could give the necessary guards and securities to the Established Church, (that of the Veto he considered absolutely nothing), he must say, that no dishonest man could be a good subject.

Lord Holland was ready to pay all reasonable regard to whatever securities might be deemed necessary, but at least their Lordships ought to agree to the reference to a committee, which was the ordinary course of the house. He hoped it would be his fortune at some future period, if not now to give the death blow to the bigotry and superstition, which operated so perniciously. He hoped the Catholics would meet them with conciliation, and strongly recommended the reference to a Committee. The Duke of Norfolk wishing the Church and State of England strengthened by the additional security of the affections of four millions of people, He voted for going into the Committee.

1810.  
Lord Holland and Duke of Norfolk for going into a Committee

Lord De Dunstanville said some words in opposition to the motion. The Earl of Liverpool said, that when no specific security was offered by the Catholics, they could not presume, that their Lordships could grant their complete emancipation, and at the same time endanger the state. The Noble Earl entered into a review of the different kingdoms in Europe, and contended, that not one of them had ever considered of giving equal toleration to those religious persuasions, who were not con-



1810.

nected with the state, except Poland. And what was the consequence? The moment they granted toleration, those who appeared to be Protestants before became Catholics. He would never consent to endanger this country in the same way; under which consideration he voted against the motion. Lord Redesdale spoke against the measure, as it would endanger the state. Lord Boringdon thought it would be productive of the worst consequences, to excite hopes, which must be disappointed. In other countries the appointment of Bishops was by the holy see, and he saw no reason to think that it should be otherwise in Ireland. He objected to the petition in the present instance, though favorable on principle to the Catholic claims. He deprecated such impression going forth, as that the door was for ever shut against them. The Earl of Buckinghamshire defended the parliament of Ireland and his own conduct in opposing the petitions of the Catholics. Complying with the present motion would throw a firebrand amongst the people. They might remember how general the cry of "No Popery" had become, at a particular period; a cry which he acquitted the government of having originated.

Lord Grey  
and the di-  
vision in the  
Lords.

Lord Grey felt himself called upon by personal motives to allude to the absence of Lord Grenville, an absence which all must regret. He was authorized to express the deep concern experienced upon the part of his noble friend; being unable to be present at the discussion of a measure, perhaps involving the salvation of the country. He wished

1810.

here to offer some words in defence of a letter alluded to by the Noble Lord on the woolsack, written by his Noble Friend. He had no hesitation to say, that there was not a principle avowed in that production, that was not consistent with strict justice and true policy. The Chancellor had said, that what he was willing to grant before without conditions, he was now desirous of accompanying with conditions; but Lord Grey appealed to the house, whether that were a fair statement of the opinions of his noble friend? Whether, on the contrary, he had not always looked to the necessity of conditions? In 1805 he had asserted that necessity; in 1808 he had repeated that assertion, and insisted upon the expediency of a general view, in which all interests should be weighed, as well that of the security of the Protestant church, as of the emancipation of the Catholic community. He agreed with the Noble Lord, that the Catholics had done much injury to their own cause; but though he felt the difficulty and disadvantage, under which they laboured in consequence, still it did not deter him from giving his vote for the present proposition. He noticed the speech of Sir John C. Hippenley in a strain of warm panegyric, commending it as remarkable for soundness of argument and clearness of order. The Noble Lord concluded with expressing a hope, that the English Catholics as well as the Irish, would, at a future day, obtain the constitutional advantages, from which they were at present excluded. Lord Do-

1810.

noughmore replied, and their Lordships divided,	
Contents (with proxies)	68
Non Contents (with proxies)	154

### Majority against Catholic Emancipation 86

Proceedings  
in Parlia-  
ment.

The Parliament passed during this session about thirty acts relating merely to Ireland: most of them were for regulating matters of trade and the collection and increase of the revenue. One was for enabling tenants in tail and for life, and also ecclesiastical persons to grant land for the purpose of endowing schools in Ireland. Public schools are considered to be the most efficient means of promoting the Protestant religion in Ireland. An act was passed for improving and amending the harbour of Howth and rendering it a fit situation for his Majesty's packets. And the Insurrection Act was repealed five days before it would have expired by effluxion of time, and the principal parts of it were re-enacted in separate statutes, as hath been before observed. The new taxes\* of 50*l.* per cent on

\* The abstract of the annual expenditure of Ireland from the 5th of January, 1810, to the 5th of January, 1811 as given in to the House of Commons, and printed by order of the House on the 6th of March 1811, was £10,930,441 3*s.* 5*d.*

A general bird's eye view of the financial statement of the country will supply a volume of historical reasoning and document. The debt of Ireland in 1800 was £30,000,000. In 1810, £89,750,000; being nearly trebled within the short space of ten years. Thus has the Union worked. To this salient spring of mischief is to be traced the present distressful situation of the country. In 1800, the charge upon the nation for the interest of the £30,000,000 it then owed, amounted to £1,200,000,



1810.

window lights, the encrease of postage on letters and parcels, a heavy duty on advertisements and hand bills, and an addition to the old duties on wine, teas and groceries, gave great discontent in Ireland, and rendered Mr. Foster, if possible, more than ever odious to his countrymen. When however the Parliament was prorogued by commission on the 21st of June, the speech, which was

in 1810, the annual charge upon the nation for its debt of £90,000,000, amounted to £4,730,000: the difference then between the charge of interest upon the national debt in 1800, and 1810, came to £3,640,000, being more than treble the expenditure before the Union. All this appeared upon the debate on Mr. Foster's opening the Irish budget on the 30th of May, 1810. On that occasion came out also several facts peculiarly illustrative of the spirit and system of the Irish Government, notwithstanding the loud and repeated calls upon them to put a stop to the accumulation of arrears in the hands of public defaulters. Sir John Newport then pointed out to the House the following list of them lying on their table, each in the favor, confidence or service of Government, viz.

The Earl of Clancarty, for Galway	£11,000
Mr. Shaw, of Cork, (the libeller of Mr. Todd Jones)	
(Mr. L. White his security)	7,400
The late Mr. Lysaght, (Lord Lisle his security)	9,500
Mr. O'Connor, of Cork, (Brother of Roger O'Connor and favourite nephew of Lord Longueville)	10,000
Do. having carried off to Scotland (whence his person had been brought back, confined and soon after enlarged)	70,000
Mr. Moore, of Marlborough	21,000
Mr. Augustine Fitzgerald, (Lord Longueville his security)	8,500
Mr. Harrison, of Ennis	11,000
	<hr/>
	£138,500

1810.

put into his Majesty's mouth by the Ministers condescended to take the following (false and insulting) notice of Ireland. "Those measures of finance, which have been extended to Ireland will fall only upon those articles, which will not interfere with its *growing prosperity*: and that it has been practicable to lessen some of the burthens, and relax some of the regulations, which pressed upon that part of the United Kingdom." The lessening of some of the burthens here supposed to be alluded to was the repeal of some of the old stamp duties, in order to impose heavier.

Effects of  
the debates  
on the Ca-  
tholic ques-  
tion.

The impression made upon the Irish people by the result of the debates on the Catholic question, was rather singular. They were evidently less animated, than any former debates upon the same question. Lord Grenville whose letter had extinguished\* the confidence, which the general body

\* This Noble Lord on presenting a petition from the Catholics of Waterford, on the 8th of March, nearly two months after the publication of that letter, took that opportunity of restating his opinions upon this important subject. Indeed it could not now be necessary for him to restate them to their Lordships. He had some time back adopted the most public mode of declaring and disseminating them (by his Letter to Lord Fingal), and he had now only to say, that whatever circumstance had since intervened, he not only had not altered those opinions, but had strengthened and confirmed them. He had maturely weighed those opinions. They had not been lightly taken up. Much less had he since made any attempt to change their character and complexion, with a view to square them to any new doctrine, or to suit them to any new purpose. In the sentiments he had invariably expressed on this most important subject, he should most steadily persevere.

1810.

of Irish Catholics had once placed in him, and who therefore had committed their petition to Lord Donoughmore, did not attend from illness: Dr. P. Duigenan, was (as is generally presumed) enjoined by his patrons to be absent from prudence. Mr. Grattan, Mr. Ponsonby and Lord Grey said so much in support and explanation of the Veto, that their speeches for the principal question did not certainly partake of that warmth and energy, which had usually distinguished their former exertions in the same cause. The enemies of the question availing themselves of the division created by the Veto, gained a more easy victory by taking advantage of that division, than by bringing up the main force of their antiquated arguments. All tended to open the eyes of the Irish to the real designs, which had not before been so distinctly seen through the blaze of talent, influence and exertions of most of their parliamentary advocates. Lord Grenville's letter explicitly committed the writer and all the avowed disciples of the doctrines contained in it, to this broad Anti Catholic conclusion, that the *conditio sine qua non* of their emancipation was always intended to be their renunciation of the papal supremacy, and the necessity of drawing spiritual jurisdiction from the see of Rome. In some reports of Mr. Ponsonby's speech on the 25th of May, he is made to say, that he had never communicated to Dr. Milner, and he would be the very last man in the world, to whom he would communicate the intentions of opposition with reference to the intended arrangements of the Catholic



1810.

discipline. This declaration, with some concomitant circumstances made a special and very strong sensation in Ireland. Dr. Milner, who was agent to the Irish Catholic prelates, in the outset of the Veto controversy had either fallen into the sympathies, or given credit to the assumptions of the Maynooth Trustees: he had, (disclaiming however any spiritual instruction or authority *quo ad hoc*) presumed, that the Irish prelates would not object to a *limited negative Veto*, which he defended until the autumn of 1808. When however the Roman Catholic prelates had come to their before mentioned synodical resolutions on the 14th of September, 1808, Dr. Milner thenceforth became the most zealous and indefatigable opponent of the Veto. He seized every opportunity in periodical and other publications, and several pamphlets of his own writing, to announce as widely as possible his formal retractation of every thing he had said in favour or support of that *restrictive negative Veto*, which he had for a time advocated: he even courted martyrdom\* in support of the synodical resolutions of the Irish prelates, who were so satisfied with his conduct on their behalf, as to have entered into an unanimous vote of thanks† to him in their national synod of the 26th of February, 1810.

\* His words were, "rather to give his blood, than to give an Uncatholic sovereign either power or influence in any part of the Catholic church."

† The Author's view in making these references is to shew the general prevalence of the deprecation of the Veto in Ireland, since it has been thoroughly understood.

It is impossible to wink so hard, as not to see how pointedly the deliberate, open and solemnly promulgated resolutions of the Catholic hierarchy in synod assembled, were calculated to counteract and defeat the ambiguous and captious plausibility of the fifth resolution\* of the board of Roman Catholics of Great Britain. The 16th resolution is bottomed upon the prelates being kept in the dark, as to those arrangements (which Mr. Ponsonby said, their agent would be the last man in the world he would communicate them to) and therefore they necessarily refrained from pronouncing judgment upon them. However they declared, "that no spirit of conciliation had ever been wanting on their part; that they sought for nothing beyond the

1810.  
The Irish  
synod  
against the  
5th Resolu-  
tion of the  
Board of  
British Ca-  
tholics.

In addition to the 16 Resolutions contained in their address to the Catholics of Ireland, the Prelates in synod assembled, on the said 26th of February, passed the following 17th Resolution respecting their agent in England, which they transmitted to him, in order to its being published there, in such manner, as he should deem expedient.

"Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be, and are hereby given, to the Rt. Rev. Dr. Milner, Bishop of Castabala, for the faithful discharge of his duty as agent to the Roman Catholic Bishops of this part of the United Kingdom, and more particularly for his late apostolical firmness, in dissenting from and opposing a vague, indefinite declaration or Resolution, pledging Roman Catholics to an eventual acquiescence in arrangements, possibly prejudicial to the integrity and safety of our church discipline.

Signed by Order,

P. RYAN, Bishop of Germanicia, Secretary.

\* It is a well known fact, that Lord Grenville wrote that resolution with a pencil, and Lord Grey retraced it in ink.

1810.

mere integrity and safety of the Roman Catholic religion in its christian faith and communion, and its essential discipline, subordination and moral code: nor should they justly be reproached for their solicitude in guarding those sacred things, for which they are bound to watch and bear testimony with their lives if required." Their 17th resolution, though not so solemnly promulgated (being of a more private nature and applying to their own agent only), was passed by the same unanimous authority, and is equally an act of their synod, by which they thank Dr. Milner "for his apostolical firmness in dissenting from a vague and indefinite resolution, pledging Roman Catholics to an eventual acquiescence to arrangements, possibly prejudicial to the integrity and safety of church discipline." The sense of the Catholic laity was in unison with that of their clergy. The General Committee of the Catholics of Ireland resolved on the 2d of March, 1810, (Lord French in the chair) that "as Irishmen and as Catholics we never can consent to any dominion or controul whatever over the appointment of our prelates on the part of the Crown or of the servants of the Crown." This unequivocal deprecation of every species of political interference with or controul, negative or positive, over the Christian Primate's exclusive right of conferring spiritual jurisdiction upon all Church governors, baffled the prospects, and defeated the designs of the more busy movers of the board of Catholics of Great Britain, who from the year 1791, had openly had it in contemplation to set



on foot a new national congregation (or church *a la Utrecht*) without jurisdiction flowing from the chair of St. Peter. Unavowed letters for newspapers under quaint signatures, manuscript essays, anonymous and other publications were poured into Ireland, some verbally disclaiming, others substantially supporting, many insidiously advocating, and some dogmatically enforcing the Veto.\* These English exertions were openly backed by few in Ireland: they had however an effect ever to be deplored by those, who identify the prosperity of Ireland with the harmony of its population. It gave rise to a base intrigue carried on in malignant darkness, with all the native duplicity of the parent, to break up the unanimity of the Catholic body; undoubtedly with a view to proselytize out of the discordants and malcontents, if any should dare (none have dared) openly to enlist with the clandestine enemies of the united powers of clergy and laity. Disappointment, spite, pride, envy, jealousy, and the whole train of bad passions, which ever attend secret conspirators, had engaged some persons, who commanded the means of taking news-papers into pay, though they possessed not the manly hardyhood to avow their own deeds, devised and executed as far as their pitiful malignity would permit, the following base artifices. In the fair and public intercourse of society, the honest and honorable man avoids not

1810

\* The author still adheres to his determination of not attempting to revise the Veto controversy; he therefore points not specially to any of them.

1810.

the task of publicly denouncing and opposing measures repugnant to justice, and pernicious to the community; he shrinks not from the eulogy and undisguised support of such, as are bottomed in reason, and are beneficial to mankind.

Catholics  
divide upon  
the expedi-  
ency of pe-  
titioning.

The Catholic body in Ireland judged, not unfairly, of the progress of their cause from the gradual decrease of the majorities against it in the Commons House of Parliament. That majority in 1805 was 212, in 1808 it fell to 153, and in 1810 it was reduced to 104. Many argued from this symptom the sound policy of unceasingly petitioning Parliament. Under these impressions a general meeting of the body was announced for the 13th of July, at the Farming Repository in Stephen's-Green, Dublin. The change, which the Veto had produced in the general question of emancipation, to which all unexceptionably looked up, and the interests and intrigues, which sprang out of it in England and Ireland rendered a general meeting more than ever necessary to settle the unanimity of the body at large, upon those cautionary steps of prudence, which were transcendently necessary to prepare them for the next parliamentary campaign. The anticipated division of the body upon the expediency of continuing to petition Parliament session after session, opened a wide range for the machinations of the secret intriguers. It was well known, that Mr. Keogh was against these annual petitions to Parliament, which were mortally sure to be rejected: he conceived, that this

routine frequency of bringing on the same unsuccessful question habituated his countrymen to defeat, familiarized the members with the subject, and created apathy and indifference to its ultimate decision. Every rejection gave a new triumph and additional strength to the adversary. He was also known to be a determined enemy to every possible interference of the King or his Ministers with the Catholic hierarchy.

1810.

On the 13th of July a very numerous and respectable meeting of the Catholics took place, when Dr. Sheridan having been called to the chair. Mr. O'Gorman, who had been appointed to report the proceedings of the general and sub-committees, and the events resulting from them since the last general assembly, was called on to make his report. He detailed in a minute and perspicuous statement the transactions connected with the Catholic emancipation since the last general meeting. He deprecated the introduction into the discussions of the day the very word *Veto* or any arrangement whatsoever, which he contended would eventually compromise or extinguish the religion of their ancestors. He proposed several resolutions \* expressive of the indignation of

Catholic  
meeting.  
Mr. O'Gor-  
man moves  
resolution,  
seconded by  
Dr. Dromi-  
goole.

\* Their form will give the reader a tolerable idea of the Catholic feeling on the subject of the meeting.

Resolved, That we have seen with feelings of the deepest regret and indignation, a British Parliament, regardless of the great principles of justice and the dictates of ordinary policy, refuse even to take into consideration the claims of the Catholic inhabitants of Ireland, and by a decision consonant with the



1810.

the Catholics at the rejection of their petition in the last Session, and their wishes to appoint a committee on a more extended scale than the former, for the purpose of preparing a petition to Parliament, and of communicating from time to time with the mass of the Roman Catholics. He stated the necessity of a petition being connected with the appointment of a committee, because the Convention Act, which originated with the late

view of the enemies of England, defeat the reasonable expectation and confident hope of a brave and a numerous people, whose sufferings past and present, have no parallel in the annals of mankind, whose importance, in the Empire should command attention, who have been always attached to legitimate power and constitutional freedom, and who number amongst them more than one million of men capable of bearing arms.

Resolved, That as such a decision appears to us unsupported by any principle, expedience, or motive of state policy, we are forced, to conclude that it must have proceeded from the corrupt and overbearing influence, which acting upon venal and subservient minds, has been the great source of calamity to those countries, and which has nearly levelled the glories of England to the dust.

Resolved, That we will continue, year after year, and Session after Session, to send up the detail of our wrongs to the Parliament of England, because we are convinced, that our cause, standing as it does upon the eternal basis of truth and justice, must advance, in the minds of the most enlightened and incorrupt, the more it is examined and discussed; and that thus, in the event of a better order of things, redress and deliverance will inevitably be ensured.

Resolved, That a Committee be appointed to draw up an Address to the King, a Remonstrance to the British Nation, and a Petition to Parliament, to be presented next Session—and that the said Committee consist of the thirty-six members for Dublin, and of ten gentlemen from each county in Ireland.

Lord Clare, denounced the penalties of *præmunire* on any assembly, or body of men, who should presume to act as delegates, except where persons may have been deputed to prepare a petition to parliament. Mr. O'Gorman's motion was seconded by Dr. Dromgoole.

Mr. O'Connor of Mount Druid regretted, that he was necessitated to resist Mr. O'Gorman's motion. He entered into a profuse detail of the humiliations, disappointments, insults, and sufferings of the body up to that very day: and concluded by reminding the meeting, that as their late proceedings had been marked by the most disgraceful inconsistency, that as at their last general meeting they had determined on petitioning and not petitioning in the same breath; as such resolving and unresolving, such fluctuation and folly must lower them in the estimation of all, he to give consistency to their conduct, and restore dignity to their proceedings, moved, that "we persevere in the principle adopted last year of not petitioning under existing circumstances; and that the events, which have since occurred, convince us of the folly of diverging from that principle." Mr. Clinch concluded an elaborate speech by seconding Mr. O'Connor's amendment.

1810.

Mr. O'Connor moves an amendment and seconded by Mr. Clinch.

Then Mr. Keogh rose for the purpose, (before he spoke to the question) of arresting the attention of the meeting to a publication, which had appeared in the *Freeman's Journal* of that day, with the signature of *Catholicus Ipse*; under which title the writer had brought forward against his

1810.

political conduct, with respect to the affairs of the Catholics of Ireland, charges of the most flagitious kind; the more infamously base, because uttered with a conscientiousness of their falsehood. He had a right to assume the author present; he knew he was: and in the face of his country and of his Catholic brethren called upon him, dared him, defied him, to stand forward to substantiate one tittle of the charges he had made, which, although taken by surprise, with the short notice of half an hour he (Mr. Keogh) from an appeal to his own conscience, and a retrospect of his past life, pledged himself to refute. He charged the anonymous assassin with the most abandoned falsehood, calumny, and cowardice. Mr. Keogh sat down for some minutes to give the conspirator or any of his accomplices the opportunity of accounting for or justifying their conduct. No one appearing to father or adopt the charges, Mr. O'Connell declared, that he did not believe, there was a Catholic in Ireland capable of such base ingratitude, as to conceive, much less publish such unfounded and scandalous charges against a person of Mr. Keogh's respectability and merit. It must be the production of some enemy to the Catholic cause, some malignant Orangeman. Under the conviction, that it was the sense of that meeting, as it would be of all Ireland, could it be proposed to them, he moved, that the meeting should instantly resolve, that *The thanks of the Catholics of Ireland are eminently due to John Keogh, Esq. for his long and unparalleled services to the cause of*



*Irish Catholic emancipation.* It was carried with loud and unanimous acclamations. 1810.

Mr. Keogh then acknowledged his grateful sense of that honorable mark of confidence in him, and entered into an interesting and perspicuous detail of the transactions of the last 20 years, in which he had been personally and principally concerned;\* and concluded by voting for the amendment proposed by Mr. O'Connor. The noxious torch of discord having been lighted up by this base and wicked calumny against the revered and meritorious father of the Catholic cause, threw the meeting into intemperate and indecent heat and confusion, which subsided only at 7 o'clock in the evening, by Mr. O'Connell's having put two motions, which were carried unanimously:—1st That the meeting adjourn to the 2nd of November—2nd That the committee be continued in the functions delegated to it by the former general assembly of the Catholics. This internal malignant scism, (it affects not the public, for both parties laboured for emancipation) which exploded on the 13th of July, has been ever since

Mr. Keogh's  
defence.

\* It has ever been the invariable object of the author to place before the public a full, fair, and authentic history of modern Ireland. Inasmuch, therefore, as this dark blow aimed at Mr. Keogh, and the unanimity of the Catholic body brought to light several interesting and important facts, which were never before committed to print, to avoid anachronism the author has submitted to the reader, in the Appendix, No. VI. a copy of the letter, signed *Catholicus ipse*, and the fullest report he could procure of so much of Mr. Keogh's speech in answer to it, as was spoken by that venerable veteran in the cause.

1810.

kept up in the most virulent publications and other display of baseness and malice from masked batteries. The aggressors still work in darkness; they have been rightly described as mischievous and noxious creatures, *seen no where, felt every where*. The only traces of their leaders (*nos numerus sumus,*) and anticipation of their machinations are to be gathered from fulsome and unguarded praises and impassioned and groundless charges against individuals found in the columns of their still stipendiary news-makers. This unworthy, dastardly and caliginous warefare is peculiarly sympathetic with the movements of the Orange enemy. It proves, that although the title of Stafford be extinguished in England, yet that his spirit lives in many, who, like him send over to Ireland messengers, who are themselves Roman Catholics, to deceive and mislead the body of Roman Catholics.\* Such was the insidious practice and private boast of that fatal adviser of King Charles I.

Measures  
of the Ca-  
tholic Com-  
mittee in  
defence of  
Mr. Keogh.

The Catholic Committee having at heart not only the general interests of the nation, and consequently of the empire, but particularly the rights, honor, and credit of the Catholic body especially entrusted to them, adopted the following measures for counteracting the clandestine workings, and anonymous slanders of the invisible malignants. They published in the independent Irish

\* Vid. Historical Letter to Sir Richard Musgrave by the author, p. 53, and the authorities there cited.

news-papers of the widest circulation, the following advertisement, during the greater part of the summer:

1810.

“ At a meeting of the Catholics of Ireland, held in the Farming Repository, Stephen's-Green, on Friday, July 13, Dr. Sheridan in the chair, the following resolutions were unanimously agreed to:—

Resolved, That the thanks of the Catholics of Ireland are eminently due to John Keogh, Esq. for his long, faithful and unparalleled services to the cause of Irish Catholic emancipation.

Resolved, That this meeting be adjourned to the second day of November next, and that the present committee do continue the management of Catholic affairs until that period.

EDWARD SHERIDAN, Chairman.

Resolved, That the thanks of the Catholics of Ireland are justly due to Doctor Sheridan for his exertions at all times in behalf of his suffering country, and particularly for his steady, impartial, and dignified conduct this day in the chair.

EDWARD HAY, Sec.”

They also sent to every Catholic of Consequence, resident in Ireland, the following valuable letter of instruction and exhortation.



1810.

"SIR, The General Committee of the Catholics of Ireland having consulted together upon the best interests of Catholic Freedom, deem it proper to address the following considerations to their Catholic fellow-sufferers, at this important juncture.

"It is notorious, that the Catholic cause has, within the last two years, gained considerably upon the public mind, in Great Britain as well as in Ireland.

"The nature of public events, their consequences, the growing exigencies of the empire, the policy, nay, the *necessity* of domestic concord and general conciliation, have wrought a happy change in the minds of our fellow subjects.

"But, still more to the public discussions of the Catholic subject, which have so frequently occupied the Press and the Parliament, called forth beneficial inquiries, and luminous reasonings, enforced by the high and encreasing authorities of the best and ablest men in the empire, may the Catholics justly attribute the immense progress, which their cause has lately made.

"However, though the argument has triumphed, its practical results in our favour are yet to be attained.

"The fruits of victory may be lost, through the impolicy of the victors.

"Apathy and lethargy may prove as ruinous on the one hand, as indiscreet energy on the other.

"Our fellow-subjects, though no longer deaf to the justice of our cause, or blind to the wisdom of

concession, have yet much to learn. They are not, 1810.  
yet aware of the extent and variety of Catholic sufferings, the mental and personal thralldom, in which we are bound, the immense means of continual annoyance, insult and contumely, to which we and our families are exposed. Nor are they yet competent to appreciate the soreness, irritation and impatience, which consequently exist in Ireland; or to calculate the probable mischiefs and disastrous effects, which result from such an order of things, and may possibly soon become irremediable.

“The Catholics alone can enlighten their fellow-subjects, by disclosing and frequently repeating the necessary information, and pouring forth fresh remon-  
strances.

“The Committee far from presuming to dictate, or even to urge any specific proceeding to the wisdom of their fellow Catholics, desire nothing more ardently, than to promote free and serious discussion amongst all.

“With unaffected earnestness and honest zeal in pursuit of Emancipation they are conscious, that their countrymen will give them credit for the honourable and worthy motives, which actuate them.

“Every honest and reflecting Catholic feels with anguish his abject depression, his systematic vassalage under the existing penal laws. His fairest hopes are depressed; his industry circumscribed; his most honourable exertions frustrated; his ener-

1810.

gies paralyzed ; his person, fame, and property, and those of his family exposed to the mercies of an uncontrouled oligarchy ; his servitude, not merely base already, but in annual hazard of fresh degradation ; the passing generation withering away in inglorious torpor, the rising youth bereft of all happy promise ; of all incentive to laudable industry ; of all excitement to honourable deeds,

“ From such a condition the Catholic must naturally long to emerge, he must anxiously look around for relief. Every year of his continuing bondage amounts to a new condemnation ; every day's delay adds a festering pain ; his shackles become more galling every hour.

“ Still, whilst time and opportunity yet remain for peaceful counsels, the virtuous Catholic will deeply revolve in his mind the wisest course for his redemption. He will prefer that success, which promises the greatest permanent enjoyment to himself and his family ; the most salutary to his country ; the most conformable to the best laws and dearest precepts of civil society. He will prefer to opposite courses those of peace, of reason, and of temperate, but firm perseverance in well-regulated efforts.

“ The Committee, Sir, consulting not merely local but general feelings, entertain every wish and hope of calling into fair and free exercise the unbiassed judgment and independent opinions of the Catholics of Ireland, thinking and acting for themselves throughout their respective counties, districts, cities, and towns, and deciding upon such



measures, as shall appear to them most eligible. 1810.

“They hope that the Catholics will take frequent opportunities, and as early as possible, of holding local meetings for these purposes; and there, unfettered by external authority and unaffected by dictation, apply their most serious consideration, to subjects of common and weighty concern, with the candour and directness of mind, which appertain to the national character.

“The establishment of permanent boards, holding communication with the General Committee in Dublin, has been deemed in several counties highly useful to the interests of the Catholic cause.

“Nothing is more necessary amongst us than *Self-agency*. It will produce that system of coherence of conduct, which must insure success.

“In the exercise of the elective franchise, for instance, what infinite good might not result from Catholic coherence? What painful examples are annually exhibited of the mischief flowing from the want of this coherence?

“The Catholic Committee, have, therefore every reason to expect the most beneficial effects to the general cause, from local and frequent meetings.

“The Catholic community may safely trust to themselves: there is amongst them abundant intelligence, integrity, and virtue, to sustain and regulate their meetings, and to counteract any possible inconvenience. They will decide for themselves upon their common interests, and act upon such decisions with firmness and boldness. Even differences in opinion, as to the means of success, ma-

1810.

nifest unbiassed judgment. They indicate the importance of the subject in question, and often claim more respect, than mere unanimity without discussion.

“ In this solemn appeal to the Catholic mind of Ireland, the Committee feel a deep and natural anxiety. They wish to collect and to follow the sentiments of their fellow Catholics; but they wish, that those sentiments may spring from as general and as active a discussion, as circumstances will permit. Measures grounded upon such discussion must be honest, most probably, will be judicious, and cannot possibly be prejudicial.

“ You, Sir, are therefore very respectfully requested to give to the subjects of this address the aid of your best consideration; and, if it shall accord with your feelings, to set on foot local meetings of the Catholics, to be held as frequently and as early as may be convenient, and to co-operate with your Catholic neighbours, with a spirit becoming your character and situation in life, in the necessary and peaceable arrangement for such meetings.

“ Much—almost all—may depend upon the decision of such meetings, at this critical time; and the opportunity, if now neglected, is not likely soon to return.

“ With a fellowship in suffering and in affection, in sorrow and in hope, with common sympathies, common prospects, and common wishes, in perfect unison with you and every other upright Catholic, the General Committee trust to your personal in-

dulgence for their Address, and rely upon your good sense and feelings for its liberal reception. 1810.

“ Upon you, and other Catholics co-operating effectually at the present time, and openly avowing your sentiments, collected by convenient meetings for the purpose, the eyes of the Committee will remain watchfully fixed. With due exertions a few months may perhaps crown our joint efforts with success.

(Signed by Order)

DANIEL O'CONNELL,

Dublin,

CHAIRMAN.”

30th July, 1810.

The summer did not pass over without fresh indications of the atrocity, confidence and impunity of the Orangemen. Orange outrage and impunity. At Enniscorthy a yeoman of the name of Crumpton not dressed in his uniform concealed a bayonet under his coat, and sallied forth with this bloody declaration in his mouth, that *he would kill some person or other* before his return. A labouring man of the name of Geehan working on the road, in whose hearing it was uttered, asked him *what would you kill a man with?* Crumpton replied, *I will soon shew you*; then drawing the bayonet from under his coat stabbed Geehan in the brain, of which he soon after died. Crumpton was an Orangeman; Geehan a Roman Catholic. When Geehan fell, and was weltering in blood, Crumpton exclaimed, *by God if I kill fifty of your sort not a hair of my head will be touched*. In the same week a Quaker lady (a Miss Martin)



1810.

was shot through the mouth as she was returning to her house on a jaunting car by one of those Yeomen. On another night, a detachment of them visited the house of Mr. Pounden a magistrate, who had recently offended them by taking informations against some of their corps for an outrageous assault and battery: they took away the iron gates from before his house, leaving a written notice\* near his hall door in the stile of the Armagh summons in 1795. In vain have the punishments, reprimands, or discouragements for any of these outrages been sought for the purpose of detaining them†. The sacrilegious plunder of

\* The form of this notice was. “ Mr. Pounden, Sir, we gave you notice some ago to quit this country; for you are making a rebellion here. We tell you now again, that if you don’t be off directly, by the ghost of William, our deliverer, and by the orange we wear, we will break your carriage in smithereens, and hough your cattle, and burn your house—so mind yourself—you will soon hear again from your friend,

TRUE BLUE.”

“ Did you get the gate yet—Oh you croppy vagabond, you rebel.”

† It has been the ungracious task of the author to draw his reader’s attention to the barefaced commission of numerous outrages of Orangemen, and to the condign punishment of few or none of them. He wishes he had enjoyed an opportunity of gratifying his reader with a detail of instances, in which the Richmond administration had made good their instructions and promises of omitting no opportunity of shewing justice and conciliation to the people of Ireland. True it is, that the nation is indebted to the Imperial Parliament for repealing on the motion of Mr. Wellesley Poole the Insurrection Act on the 5th of July, which would otherwise have expired without such re-

the Catholic chapel of Enniskillen by one Hall and some other Orange accomplices went indeed to trial before Judge Fletcher, but although the prisoner had confessed his own guilt, and the case

1810.

peal on the 10th. Much has been said of the imperfect and partial management of the commission of the peace: and as in the correction of error there is often more virtue, than there was vice in the commission of it, it is with gratification the following incident is laid before the reader. Mr. O'Hanlon of Newry, an active, impartial and respectable magistrate, both for Tyrone and Armagh, of whom frequent mention has been made, had from those very qualities acquired many enemies, particularly amongst the ferocious bigots of Armagh; and they commanded the confidence and ear of government. False tales and charges against Mr. O'Hanlon had been whispered to the Chancellor by persons, whose rank in life gave them the credit of veracity; and Mr. O'Hanlon was superseded in the commission for Armagh without any cause alleged. After he had been some time put out of that commission, though he remained in that of Tyrone, one of his Majesty's Judges, who intimately knew the peculiar merits of Mr. O'Hanlon as a magistrate, not only undertook to represent to the Chancellor the public loss by his removal from that commission, but recommended Mr. O'Hanlon to wait upon his Lordship in person, to learn the grounds, upon which he had been superseded. He accordingly waited upon Lord Manners in Dublin, and was permitted to state his whole case, to which his Lordship paid strict attention; but refused to communicate to him the grounds of the *supersedeas*. He told him, that he would renew his enquiries, and should he find reason for altering his determination, he would apprise him of it the next day; when Mr. O'Hanlon received a written intimation from his Lordship, that he found no cause to alter his opinion. At the distance of several months, the Chancellor highly to his commendation made further enquiries, and discovered, that he had been imposed upon by his private whisperer, and without further intermediate communication with Mr. O'Hanlon, wrote to him the following letter.

1810.

was otherwise made clearly out, yet was he acquitted by an Orange Jury. Several other unpunished outrages, assaults, and provocations were committed in the course of the Summer at Letterkenny, Kilkenny, and elsewhere. The most striking instance of the mischievous spirit of Orangism happened in the county of Down, where various corps of Yeomen were to be inspected at Banford Green. The Warringstown cavalry and the Ban infantry had not arrived on the ground till the Scarvagh infantry were upon it. When the Ban corps came up, they manifested a mutinous disposition, refusing to be inspected with the Scarvagh infantry, *because there were six Roman Catholics belonging to that corps*. Their Captain harangued them and deprecated in strong language the fomenting of religious animosities; he ended by saying, he had come to the resolution, "that any one of them, who refused to be inspected with the Scarvagh infantry, might lay down their arms;" immediately the whole threw down their muskets, and the greater part their belts; the whole of the Scarvagh

"Dublin, April 9th, 1808.

"SIR,

"I have great pleasure in being enabled to inform you, that upon a very full investigation of the circumstances, which induced me to remove you from the commission of the peace for the county of Armagh, I am satisfied I have done you injustice by that act. I have accordingly signed a *fiat* for that purpose; and I am, Sir, your most obedient humble Servant,

"To

"MANNERS"

"P. O'HANLON, Esq."



1810.

infantry, with the exception of the six Catholics, seeing what the others had done, ran over to them huzzaing; the Warringstown cavalry, seized with a similar mania, galloped from their officers and joined the other two corps, while the six Catholics left to themselves, and fearful of unpleasant consequences from the intolerant spirit of their fellow-soldiers, retired from the field, in which their presence had caused so much confusion. This unmilitary and dangerous example went unpunished unreprimanded and unnoticed notwithstanding the Yeomanry were subject to martial law. With the renovation of the system, the Orangemen, as it has been before observed, laboured in different ways to reconcile themselves to the public by an appearance and affectation of benevolence and liberality. In the county of Down some of the original and most determined of their leaders, refused to permit their corps to parade on their demesnes, as they usually had, to celebrate their Summer festivals. Lord Dufferin, the son-in-law of Mr. Foster, conceived he could not pay more acceptable court to his father-in-law than by doing honor to his Prætorian guards, entertained all the different corps of Orange Yeomen in that neighbourhood on his lawn at Ballylady on their anniversary festival, where they went through their usual solemnities, and presented to his Lordship a very warm and affectionate address. As it has been observable from the very institution of the Orange societies, that the pulpit has been ancillary to their designs, the 12th of July, in this year was signa-

1810.

lized by a sermon preached in the county of Louth, with much zeal and address, to prove, *that an Orangeman means no more than a loyal man.* And to disprove the assertion *that Orangemen are men of party and encourage party rage.* He concluded it with an enthusiastic exhortation to his Orange brethren to love, charity, and benevolence to all mankind without exception. \*

Measures  
for repeal of  
the Act of  
Union.

The subject, which occupied the Irish mind during the greater part of the summer, was the repeal of the Act of Union. The most respectable corporations of the City of Dublin and several other bodies of men, who suffered most from the calamitous effects of that baleful measure frequently met, in order to devise the most effectual means of procuring the restoration of the Irish constitution by the repeal of the Act of Union. At the Quarter Assembly in Dublin, Mr. Hutton pursuant to notice, after an impressive speech, in which he strongly depicted the ruin, bankruptcy, despair, and famine, that appeared in every street in Dublin, reminded them, that their debt was then above 90 millions, and that 2 millions were raised by the sweat of their peasantry, to be squandered in a foreign country by absentees; that their poverty prevented loans being raised in their country, and that £2,500,000, more were drained from

\* This sermon was preached by the Revd. Dennis M'Grath, at Ballymascanlan in the county of Louth, and in the close vicinage of Mr. Foster's at Colonwood, to a congregation of Orangemen of those districts, who repaired thither to celebrate their anniversary.

1810.

it to pay the interest of that insupportable debt. He proposed correspondent resolutions, which were vehemently opposed by Mr. Giffard and his party: they were however carried in favour of the Anti-unionists by a majority of 30. In the ensuing month of August, the committee of the Board of Aldermen and Common-council appointed a sub-committee consisting of Alderman Cash, Alderman Reeve, Mr. Hutton, Mr. Craven, and Mr. Farrell, to prepare and report a petition to Parliament for a repeal of the Union, together with an address to the King, a declaration to the Empire, and an invitation to the counties and corporations to express their sentiments on this interesting subject which was brought to a focus in the month of August, when the following proceedings were had upon it.

*Dublin, August 8th, 1810.*

We the undersigned late Quarter Session Grand Jurors of the City of Dublin, viewing the distressed and deplorable state of our manufactures in every branch, and the city and nation in general, do feel ourselves called upon to point out, what we conceive, the only mode of radical relief from the general gloom and misery, that pervades this unfortunate land, which is to request, and we do hereby request the High Sheriffs to call a meeting, as soon as possible, of the freemen and free holders of this city, to prepare an humble petition to His Majesty and the Parliament, praying for a repeal of the Act of Union, as we, in common

Requisition  
for the  
meeting.



1810.

with all our unbiassed countrymen, look upon that act, as the root and origin of all our misfortunes. (Signed by 12 Grand Jurors.)

We the undersigned freemen and freeholders of the City of Dublin, do request Sir Edward Stanley and Sir James Riddall, Knights, High Sheriffs of this City, to call a meeting of the freemen and freeholders, at as early a day as possible, to take into consideration the necessity, that exists of presenting a petition to his Majesty and the Imperial Parliament, for a repeal of the Act of Union.) (Signed by 140 respectable freeholders,) to which the following answers were given by the Sheriffs.

*Stephen's-Green, Sept. 10th. 1810.*

GENTLEMEN,

Answer of  
Sir E. Stanley.  
ley.

Although extremely desirous to forward the wishes of any part of my fellow citizens, yet, it appears to me, upon mature consideration, that that the proposed objects of the meeting, which you have required me to convene, are so unlikely to be obtained, and so obviously calculated, unnecessarily, to agitate the public mind, and to endanger the peace of the city, for which I am responsible, that I would consider it a violation of my duty to comply with the requisition. I am fortified in this determination, by the advice of the most eminent bankers, merchants, and magistrates, whom I have consulted, and whose

1810.

opinions were totally unswayed by any party or political motive.

I have the honor to be,  
Gentlemen,  
Your most obedient,  
Humble Servant,

To the Freemen and Freeholders  
of the City of Dublin, who  
have signed a requisition for  
an Aggregate Meeting re-  
lative to the Union.

EDWARD STANLEY.

To the Freemen and Freeholders of the  
City of Dublin.

GENTLEMEN,

Fully impressed as I am, with the right, which the Freemen and Freeholders possess of expressing their sentiments upon any public measure in a constitutional and moderate form; and, feeling a decided conviction of my legal competency to assemble them, I hereby, in compliance with the above requisition, appoint the 18th day of September inst. at 12 o'clock, to meet at the Royal Exchange, for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of petitioning our gracious Sovereign and the Imperial Parliament, for a repeal of the Act of Union. In fulfilling this my bounden duty, I feel it unnecessary to recommend the decorum and order, which should characterise an assembly of the citizens of Dublin, called together for a great public object, in which the interest of the country is so deeply concerned; and that they will conduct the discussion with

Answer of  
Sir James  
Riddall.

1810.

that temper and moderation becoming their cause, and worthy their character of free and loyal citizens. With this persuasion on my mind, I shall not feel it necessary to assemble any guard whatever, but the beadles of the respective corporations.

I have the honor to be,

Gentlemen,

Your most obedient,

Humble Servant,

(Signed)

JAMES RIDDALL.

*Mountjoy-Square, Sept. 10th 1810.*

Aggregate  
Meeting &  
their Reso-  
lutions.

On the 18th of September, 1810, the Aggregate Meeting of the citizens, freemen and freeholders of the city of Dublin, met at the Royal Exchange, pursuant to the requisition, to consider of a petition to the King and Imperial Parliament, praying them to take into their consideration the repeal of the Act of Union. Sir James Riddall from the chair, Mr. Hutton, Mr. O'Connell, Mr. McNally, Mr. Nicholas Mahon, and Mr. Willis spoke to the subject with great zeal and patriotism, and the meeting terminated in the unanimous adoption of the resolutions,\* which had been pre-

\* The speech of Mr. O'Connell at this Meeting was much admired and relished by his countrymen. It was printed on a large sheet of paper with the likeness of the patriotic advocate, and circulated through the nation. The firm and virtuous conduct of Sir James Riddall throughout his Shrievalty and particularly in signing the requisition, enhanced the estimation, increased the affection, and rivetted the eternal gratitude of his countrymen. The form of the Resolutions will shew the feelings, spirit and determination of the unbought and uncorrupted part of the nation, as to the question of Union, upon which alone they met.



pared by the sub-committee, and which were in unison with the several resolutions entered into and

1810.

“ At an aggregate meeting of the Freemen and Freeholders of the City of Dublin, convened pursuant to requisition, and held at the Royal Exchange, on Tuesday, the 18th of September, 1810

SIR JAMES RIDDALL, HIGH SHERIFF, IN THE CHAIR.

“ Resolved unanimously—That a Committee of Nine Gentlemen be appointed for the purpose of preparing a Petition to his Majesty, and another to the two Houses of Parliament, praying a Repeal of the Act of Union.

The Committee having been appointed, and the Petitions being read.

“ Resolved unanimously—That the Petition to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, praying a Repeal of the Union Law, be adopted as the Petition of the Freemen and Freeholders of the County of the City of Dublin.

“ Resolved unanimously-- That the Petition to both Houses of Parliament, praying for the said Repeal, be adopted as the Petition of this assembly.

“ Resolved—That a Permanent Committee, of Twenty-one persons, Freemen and Freeholders of the City of Dublin, be appointed, and hereby entrusted, not only with the care of having the Petition presented to his Majesty and Parliament, but with the duty of co-operating with all such other persons as shall seek by legal and constitutional means, the Repeal of the Act of Union.

“ Resolved unanimously—That our excellent and amiable Viceroy, his Grace the Duke of Richmond, has, by the uniform conciliation and wisdom of his conduct, merited the gratitude and thanks of the Irish nation. As a patron of public institutions, as a friend to Irish manufactures, as an upright Chief Governor, combining at once, suavity of demeanour with constitutional moderation; his Grace's ministry will be long remembered with affection and esteem by every loyal Irishman.

1810.

published by most of the separate corporations. Nothing took place interesting or important to the nation after this meeting, until it pleased the Almighty to revisit our gracious sovereign with that illness, which has suspended the exercise of the executive. On the 29th of October, 1810, the following bulletin concerning his Majesty's state of health was issued.

*“ Windsor Castle, October 29.*

The King has been indisposed for a few days past. His Majesty has had a fever: and his nights have been restless: but he has had several hours sleep this morning.

*W. Halford,*

*W. Heberden,*

*M. Baillie.”*

“ Resolved Unanimously—That we, the Citizens of Dublin, in Aggregate Meeting, legally assembled, fully impressed with a sense of his Grace's many virtues, seize with pleasure this public opportunity of returning our grateful acknowledgments to his Grace, and of thus recording our unqualified approbation of his Lieutenancy in this Kingdom.

“ Sir James Riddall having left the Chair, and Robert Shaw, Esq. M. P. being called thereto,

“ Resolved unanimously—That the thanks of the Aggregate Meeting, and the gratitude of the Irish Nation, are due to Sir James Riddall, Knight, not only for his polite and dignified conduct this day in the Chair, but also, for the uniform patriotism, with which he has distinguished his Shrievalty.

Resolved unanimously—That a piece of Plate, of the value of at least, One Hundred Guineas, be presented to Sir James Riddall, as a small token of the respect and gratitude, which his fellow citizens entertain for his integrity, which yielded neither to influence nor menace in the performance of his public duty.

Signed by Order,

FREDERIC W. CONWAY, Sec.

From what has been detailed in the foregoing sheets it is evident, that a wide and desperate conspiracy has long subsisted against the civil and religious freedom of the subject. It has been regularly carried on, first by undersapping the Royal mind, which the constitution guards against assault or surprize by sworn and responsible advisers; next by the seizure and misdirection of the passions and even the virtues of the monarch, whose person from assumed inability to do wrong, the constitution renders inviolable; lastly by usurping the prerogative, which the accomplices administer with that dangerous, double, and keen-edged weapon, the Royal *Conscience*; the abuse of which our excellent constitution so much dreads, as to commit it without power even of momentary resumption to the keeping of a *good and experienced*\* man from the accession to the demise of the Crown. This latter event it has pleased the high distributor of Empires to anticipate, by a temporary suspension of the executive powers of the constitution. The confederates have been consequently driven to a fault; their views and objects have varied, their manner and scene of action have been shifted. Their usurpation upon the rights of King George the third has consequently for the moment ceased. As it was anxiously intended, that these

\* This awful and important delegation in supposition of law passes with the custody of the Great Seal to the Chancellor or keeper, who in directing the Royal Conscience, is presumed by law and bounden by oath on all occasions to judge and act. *Secundum consilium boni & probi viri.*



1810.

sheets should, it is humbly confided they do furnish an explicit answer to the quære of the most enlightened and honest politician, that ever wrote coteemporary history. *At qui sunt hi, qui rempublicam occupavere?*

\* Sal. Bel Jug. xxxix. As every reader may not have a Sallust on his shelf, the author submits to him in his native tongue the answer, which compleats the period alluded to in the speech of Memmius to the Roman people, upon the unsatisfactory report of an expedition to the coast of Africa. "But who are those, who have wrested the management and controul of the state into their own hands? Men of consummate wickedness; their hands embrued in blood; of rapacious avarice; mischievously offensive, at the same time most insolent and haughty; who turn loyalty, honor, religion, in fine every thing both creditable and disgraceful to their own gain and profit.

THE END.

# APPENDIX.

## No. I.

*A Letter to Colonel Newenham from a Roman Catholic Clergyman of the Diocese of Cork; namely the Rev. Doctor Walsh, who recently died in the 44th year of his age, an illustrious example of evangelical zeal, purity and edification, and literally a victim to the excessive weight and labour of his parochial duties.*

SIR,

Conceiving, from some expressions; which dropped from you, when I had the honor of seeing you a few days ago at Coolmore, that a faithful statement of the situation of the Roman Catholic Clergy of this country, would not be unacceptable to you, and desirous to give you every information on a subject, the minutes of which are known solely to the clergy, I take the liberty of sending you a sketch of their truly degraded state, for the accuracy of which I can vouch, but which is not, I fear, as comprehensive as you may require.

The Roman Catholic Church of Ireland is composed of four Archbishops and twenty two bishops. The Archbishops take their titles, as in the established church, from Armagh, Dublin, Cashel and Tuam. Of the Bishops, eight are suffragans of Armagh, and are those of Ardagh, Clogher, Derry, Down and Connor, Dromore, Kilmore, Meath and Raphoe. Dublin has but three suffragans, Leighlin and Ferns, Kildare and Ossory. Six are suffragans to Cashel, viz. Ardfert and Aghadoe, Cloyne and Ross, Cork, Killaloe, Limerick, and Waterford and Lismore. Four are subject to Tuam, viz. Athenry, Clonsfert, Elphin and Killala. There is besides these, the Bishop of the united Diocesses of Kilmarduagh and Kilsenora, the one in Connaught, the other in Munster, who is alternately suffragan of Tuam and Cashel.

As in the established church, we also have a dignitary in Galway, called a *Warden*, who has nearly episcopal Jurisdiction, and is no farther subject to higher powers, than that he is liable to the triennial visitation of the Archbishop of Tuam.

Every Bishop has a Vicar General of his own appointment, who holds his office only *durante bene placito*, and whose jurisdiction ceases on the death of the Prelate.

Every diocese has also a Dean, appointed by the *Cardinal Protector*, i. e. that Cardinal in Rome, who has the peculiar direction of all ecclesiastical matters appertaining to Ireland, and also an Archdeacon, named by the Bishop. These two are mere nominal dignities, having neither power nor emolument annexed to them.

On the death of a Bishop, the clergy of the diocese are empowered by the canon law, to elect a *Vicar capitular*, who is invested during the vacancy of the see, with episcopal jurisdiction; but if such election does not take place within a specified number of days after the demise of the Bishop has been notified to them, the Archbishop of the Province may appoint of his own authority the Vicar.

The clergy in the mean time assemble, and fix their choice on one of their own body, or sometimes on a stranger, and petition the Pope, or (in technical language) Postulate, that he may be appointed to the vacant See. The Bishops also of the province consult each other, and unite in presenting to the Pope two or three men of merit, one of whom is usually appointed; for the recommendation of the Prelates has always more weight in Rome, than the postulation of the inferior clergy.

The appointment of the Irish Bishops lies in the Cardinals, who compose the congregation *de propaganda fide*. It takes place on Monday, and on the following Sunday is submitted by their Secretary to the Pope, who may confirm or annul the nomination at will; it very rarely however happens, that he does not confirm it.

It formerly sometimes happened, that Irish officers, in the service of foreign Princes, influenced, in a great measure, through the recommendation of their Courts, the congregation to the nomination of their friends and relations. But as many inconveniences and abuses were discovered to arise from such influence, the congregation issued a decree



(I believe in 1785) in virtue of which no foreign recommendation was in future to be attended to.

There is a custom common in all Roman Catholic countries, and frequently practiced in Ireland, which, I believe, is not known in the established church, that of appointing assistant or coadjutor-bishops. In the event of old age, infirmity, or any accidental visitation of heaven, whereby a bishop is rendered incapable of attending to the laborious duties of his station, he may chuse any meritorious clergyman to be his coadjutor, and to succeed him at his death. His recommendation is almost invariably attended to in Rome, the object of his choice is appointed and consecrated, taking his title from some oriental diocess which title he relinquishes on his succeeding at the death of the old or infirm bishop, whom he was appointed to assist. While retaining the oriental title, though in character, and by consecration a bishop, he is called a bishop *in partibus* because the see, from which he takes his designation, being under the dominion of some eastern power, is stiled in the language of the office, from which the bull of appointment is issued to be *in partibus infidelium*.

The emoluments of the bishop arise from three sources, which is usually the best parish in the diocess, the licenses the *cathedraticum*.

Of the parish emoluments I shall speak, when treating of parish priests.

The license is a dispensation granted by the bishop in the publication of banns, for which a sum, never less than a crown, and according to the abilities of the parties amounting at times to half a guinea, or a guinea is paid. And as it very seldom happens, that the parties are inclined to have the banns published, the generality are married by license, which adds very considerably to the episcopal revenue.

The *cathedraticum* is a yearly sum, generally from two to ten guineas, given by each parish priest to the bishop, in proportion to the value of his parish, for the purpose of supporting the episcopal dignity. There is no law to enforce this tribute, nor no obligation of paying it, yet it is a very antient practice, and is never omitted.

Parish priests are appointed solely by the bishop, and if collated or having three years peaceable possession, they

cannot be dispossessed, otherwise they may be removed at pleasure. A collation is a written appointment, signed by the bishop, by which he confers a parish on a clergyman and confides it indefinitely to his care.

Coadjutors or Curates are also appointed by the bishop and are moveable at will.

The Parish Priest is supported by voluntary contributions, if that can be called voluntary, which is established by ancient custom and general prevalence. His income springs from various sources—from Easter and Christmas dues. These consist in a certain sum paid by the head of every family to the Parish Priest for his support, and in consideration of his trouble in catechizing, instructing, and hearing the confessions of his family. The sum is greater or smaller in proportion to the circumstances of the Parishioner. In the Country parishes, it is generally a shilling at Easter, and a shilling at Christmas. Some give half a crown, some a crown, and some few a guinea a year. There is no general ecclesiastical law to enforce the payment of these trifles; but as the mode was struck out, in what has been denominated the Council of Kilkenny, under *Rinnucini*, it has continued ever since to be practised, and from custom has acquired the force of law.

*Weddings.* The sum to be paid at these is different in different diocesses. In the diocess of Cork, by an order of the bishop, no clergyman is warranted in demanding more from the parties than half a guinea; yet the usual sum universally given by the bridegroom is a guinea; in addition to which a collection is frequently made among the friends of the parties, who have been invited, for the benefit of the parish priest.

The parochial fees for each christening is two shillings or half a crown, besides which, the sponsors usually give something more. Some trifle is generally given for visiting the sick; a shilling usually in the country.

In some parts of the country, custom has established, that a certain quantity of hay and oats is sent by the more opulent parishioners to the clergyman; that his turf should be cut, his corn reaped, his meadow mowed, &c. gratis; and I have been credibly informed, that in some parts of Ireland, bordering on the sea coast, a certain quantity of fish is given to the priest, in lieu of parochial dues.

The retribution for each mass, is, in this diocess, two shillings; it is more or less else where. But if mass

should be said at the house of a parishioner, at his own request, he usually gives the clergyman a crown.

The general stipend of the curate is the third part of the general receipts of the parish. But in some instances, such as where the parish priest is old, infirm or unacquainted with Irish, and consequently incapable of lessening, in any great degree the labour of the curate, the latter frequently receives half the parochial emoluments.

Stations are meetings at some commodious house, appointed by the priest, for the convenience of such people, as live at a distance from the chapel, where he hears their confessions, gives them communion, catechizes the children, &c. and it is at these half yearly meetings, that he receives his Easter or Christmas dues.

A custom originating, I suppose, either in the poverty of the priest, and his consequent inability to provide for himself, or in the hospitality of the Irish character, has from time immemorial existed, that a dinner is prepared for the priest at every house, where he appoints a station, to which the householders, friends and neighbours are also invited. The bad effects of this custom are so glaring, that I have in my parish, though not without considerable difficulty, abolished it, and should indeed most cordially wish, that the abolition were universal. For besides that drunkenness is the general consequence of such convivial meetings, the cost is very serious to the entertainer; and as there is no inconsiderable degree of proud emulation amongst the people in this particular, it not unfrequently happens, that expenses are incurred, to which the abilities of some are not always equal. Add to this the improbability of that decorum being preserved in those situations, which the presence of their clergymen demands from the people; and the danger, that either his reserve may be construed into pride, or his want of it produce such familiarity, as may render all his efforts at instruction, admonition or reform of no avail. Another bad consequence (and in my mind of no small weight) is, that as man gradually imbibes the sentiments, and insensibly acquires the manners of those, with whom he associates, the clergyman by his uninterrupted intercourse with the lower orders of the community, may lose that polish, which by education or observation he may have attained, and be by degrees totally unfitted for more select society.



The influence, which the clergy formerly possessed over their flocks, and which was for a long series of years proverbial, was considerably diminished by the relaxation of the popery laws; it thenceforward continued gradually to decline, and received at length the *coup de grace* by the *white Boy* disturbances in 1786. At that period not only all former influence was lost, but even that confidence in their clergy, without which all their exertions must prove abortive, ceased in a great measure to exist among the people; Nor was it till the rebellion, and its consequent irritations and antipathies opened their eyes, that this confidence began again to revive; the people then perceived that their priests were in common with themselves, objects of persecution to one party, and of disregard and derision to the other, and that, though some of them had been unfortunately implicated, and some few deeply engaged in the rebellion, all were accused or suspected, and all condemned by party enthusiasm to one general, comprehensive, indiscriminate execration. They now, indeed, gratefully acknowledge, that to the admonitions of the clergy they are in a great degree indebted, for having escaped the many miseries endured in the disturbed and rebellious parts of the kingdom; and are, I believe, at this moment more amenable than for 20 years back. The influence of the clergy is, however, still inconsiderable, indeed, if compared to what it was half a century ago, though never, perhaps (at least in this diocess) were the powers and energies of the clergy more forcibly and uniformly exerted in instructing and particularly in catechising and attending to the minds and morals of the rising generation, than since the Whiteboy combination alluded to.

I have unintentionally strayed away from my original purpose, which was merely to exhibit in detail the poor and uncomfortable situation of the Roman Catholic clergy of this country. To the precarious and unsatisfactory nature of their subsistence, it may, I think, be attributed, that comparatively few men of genteel connections, or early education belong to the body. For as parents naturally look forward in the establishment of their children, to their comfort and affluence, it is not to be supposed, that a man of opulence or respectability will educate his son for a state of life, which presents nothing to his view but drudgery and dependance. And therefore it is highly pro-

bable, that until some more desirable mode of provision shall be struck out for the Roman Catholic clergy, they will continue in general to spring from the inferior orders of society.

It was, I have heard, in the contemplation of the late ministry, to add to their comforts by a liberal provision proportioned to their respective rank and dignity in the church. But, however praise worthy such intention may have been, and however beneficial in some points of view it may be considered, I must individually acknowledge, that to me such a provision has hitherto presented insuperable objections. The immediate consequence of the proposed plan would be, in my conception of events, the total annihilation of that confidence, which the people should repose in their clergy, and without which the most sanguine efforts of these in their professional character must be ineffectual. It would, besides, most unquestionably, in many instances, be productive in the clergy of inactivity and negligence in the discharge of their duties. For as the priest has all the feelings, and sometimes many of the failings of human nature about him, can it be supposed, that he will work with as much ardor for a maintenance, when it is secured to him from the treasury, as he now does, when he is well aware, that his livelihood depends on his own exertions? Is it not also possible, as it invariably happens, wherever there is an established church (be its tenets and creed of whatever complexion you please), that the prospect of independance and respectability rather than a view to the promotion of morality and religion, may allure to the ecclesiastical state? and that many totally unqualified for the sacred profession, either through want of piety or learning, may thus force themselves into the ministry, to the disgrace and degradation of religion?

'Tis true, that were the Roman Catholic clergyman independant of his flock, and not hanging as is now the case, on their benevolence for his support, he might admonish with more authority his people, and without being suspected, as sometimes now happens, of interested views in urging them to the performance of their religious duties. But it is not to me very clear, whether, were he paid or provided for by the treasury, his advice and exhortations would not sound in the ears of his people more like the

sentiments of a hireling, or a Government spy, than the pure and disinterested effusions of a christian pastor. At all events though I have long revolved the subject, and maturely considered it under all its bearings, with as much impartiality and attention as I could bestow upon it, I cannot for my part bring myself to relish the idea: I am indeed so heartily disgusted with innovations and revolutions of every kind, that I should prefer, by many degrees, the highly exceptionable and degraded footing, on which I have hitherto, as a Roman Catholic Clergyman, existed, to the risk of the many serious evils, which possibly might and would very probably arise from such a change.

I have, you perceive, Sir, travelled *tout bonnement* over a great deal of ground. To an ordinary man I should feel inclined to make an apology for my intrusion: but when I reflect, that, however, interesting otherwise the subject may be, it is to a patriot a matter by no means irrelevant to be intimately acquainted with the nature of the situation of a body of men, by whose principles and conduct the great majority of his country is guided, I should consider it idle to offer it. And though in the present state of things in this country, it might by the generality of people be considered as ideotism, to you I do not hesitate to declare, that, making every due allowance for the birth, deficiency of early education, want of knowledge of the world, and the many other substantial disadvantages, with which the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland have to contend, their morality and good conduct in general is such, that however the derision and contempt of the world may attach to them, I have ever felt a conscious pride in belonging to the body.

For the liberty I have taken I shall not offer an apology, as it has been caused solely by your own condescension, in hinting something not unlike a wish to be informed of the minutiae, which I have here detailed. I shall therefore abruptly have done, by assuring you of the sincerity with which I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient,

Humble servant,

.....

June 12th, 1806.

Thomas Newenham, Esq. Coolmore.



## No. II.

*Resolutions of the Roman Catholic Prelates in 1799.*

At a meeting of the Roman Catholic prelates, held in Dublin the 17th, 18th, and 19th of January, 1799, to deliberate on a proposal from government, of an independent provision for the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland under certain regulations, not incompatible with their doctrine, discipline, or just principles:—

It was admitted, that a provision through government for the Roman Catholic clergy of this kingdom, competent and secured, ought to be thankfully accepted.

That, in the appointment of the prelates of the Roman Catholic religion to vacant sees within the kingdom, such interference of government as may enable it to be satisfied of the loyalty of the person appointed, is just, and ought to be agreed to.

That, to give this principle its full operation, without infringing the discipline of the Roman Catholic church, or diminishing the religious influence, which prelates of that church ought justly to possess over their respective flocks, the following regulations seem necessary:—

1st.—In the vacancy of a see, the clergy of the diocese to recommend, as usual, a candidate to the prelates of the ecclesiastical province, who elect him, or any other they may think more worthy, by a majority of suffrages:—in the case of equality of suffrages, the metropolitan or senior prelate to have the casting vote.

2d.—In the election of a metropolitan, if the provincial prelates do not agree within two months after the vacancy, the senior prelate shall forthwith invite the surviving metropolitans to the election, in which each will then have a vote:—in the equality of suffrages, the presiding metropolitan to have a casting vote.

3d.—In these elections, the majority of suffrages must be, *ultra medietatem*, as the canons require, or must consist of the suffrages of more than half the electors.

4th.—The candidates *so elected*, to be presented by the president of the election to government, which, within one month after such presentation, will transmit the name of the said candidate, if no objection be made against him, for appointment to the holy see, or return the said name to the

president of the election, for such transmission as may be agreed on.

5th—If government have any proper objection against such candidates, the president of the election will be informed thereof within one month after presentation; who in that case will convene the electors to the election of another candidate.

Agreeably to the discipline of the Roman Catholic church, these regulations can have no effect without the sanction of the holy see; which sanction, the Roman Catholic prelates of this kingdom shall, as soon as may be, use their endeavours to procure.

The prelates are satisfied, that the nomination of parish priests, with a certificate of their having taken the oath of allegiance, be certified to government.

Richard O'Reilly,  
Edward Dillon,  
P. J. Phunkett,  
Daniel Delany,  
James Caulfield,  
J. T. Troy,  
Thomas Bray,  
F. Moylan,  
Edmund French.  
John Cruise.

*Subsequent Resolution of the Roman Catholic Electors.*

The prelates assembled to deliberate on a proposal from government of a provision for the clergy, have agreed, that M. R. Doctor O'Reilly, M. R. Doctor Troy, and R. R. Doctor Phunkett, and such other of the prelates, who may be in town, be commissioned to transact all business with government relative to said proposal, under the substance of the regulations agreed on and subscribed by them.

Thomas Bray,  
Edward Dillon,  
F. Moylan,  
Daniel Delany,  
James Caulfield,  
Edmund French.  
John Cruise.

Dublin, 28th January, 1799.

No. III.  
*1. Letter from Lord Grenville to the Earl of Fingal.*

My Lord, Camelford House, Jan. 22, 1810.

I have the honor to address this letter to your Lordship, in reply to that, which I received from you respecting the petition, with which you are charged. This form of communication I consider as most satisfactory to your Lordship. It is also best calculated to do justice to the sentiments of some of the most distinguished advocates of your cause, in concurrence with whom the decision has been taken.

I must, in the first place, assure your Lordship, that my opinion remains unchanged, as to the object of your petition. It would, I think, be an act of undeniable wisdom and justice, to communicate to our fellow subjects, professing the Roman Catholic Religion, the full enjoyment of our civil constitution. Such a measure, accompanied by suitable arrangements maturely prepared, and deliberately adopted, would, I am confident, above all others, give strength and union to the Empire, and increased security to its religious and civil establishments.—Your Lordship is well aware, that on this conviction only have I supported it. To these establishments I am unalterably attached; their inviolable maintenance I have ever considered as essential to all the dearest interests of my country. But they rest, I am certain, on foundations much too firm; they are far too deeply rooted in the affections of that community, to which they dispense the blessings of religion, order and liberty, to require the adventitious and dangerous support of partial restrictions, fruitful in discontent, but, for security, wholly inefficient.

With respect to the present application to Parliament, I knew not, except from public report, that such a measure was in contemplation; or that it was the wish of the Petitioners to place their petition in my hands.

I have twice already, at the request of the Catholics of Ireland, moved the House of Lords to take this subject into consideration. I did not, in either case, think myself responsible for your determination as to the time of agitating the question; a determination, which in the first instance, I had not suggested, and which in the last I had in my place in parliament publicly dissuaded. Recent events had, in both cases, imposed upon me a peculiar duty, not



merely for my own honor, but in justice also to your cause, to prove, by my conduct, on the earliest occasion afforded by yourselves, that no change of public situation, no prejudice, no calumny, no clamour could either vary or suppress my opinion on this great national question. This duty I willingly performed. Deeply impressed with the importance of the measure which I recommended, I have spared no sacrifice, omitted no exertion, by which I could contribute to their accomplishment. And if I could now deceive myself with a hope, that a renewal of my weak efforts, in the present moment, could expedite or facilitate their ultimate success, it would be my highest gratification once more to stand forward as the chosen advocate of national conciliation.

Circumstanced as this question now is, both in England and in Ireland, it is on the contrary, my deliberate opinion, that no motion, grounded on your petition, could, at this time, in any hands, certainly not in mine, be brought forward, without great and permanent disadvantage to its object.

This opinion is founded, not only on the present known dispositions of Government and Parliament, but also on the unexpected difficulties, which have arisen in Ireland, on the impressions, which they may create, and the embarrassments, which they unavoidably produce.

It would be an invidious task for me to recapitulate, in this place, the transactions of the last three years, or to discuss the temper and spirit, the language and the conduct of his Majesty's Ministers towards your body; nor would it become me to censure, though I may be permitted to lament, the decisions of the Legislature.

To these two topics it is sufficient briefly to have adverted. The obstacles, which, in the present moment, they oppose to any favourable consideration of your cause, and the advantages, which they afford to the misrepresentations of your adversaries, are too obvious to require explanation.

Many circumstances compel me to speak to your Lordship more at large of the recent proceedings in Ireland; with reference both to their origin and to their consequences. For this purpose I must beg leave to recal to your Lordship's recollection, the grounds, on which the consideration of these petitions has uniformly been recommended to Parliament. That which you have asked, and which has been supported by the greatest Statesmen of our time, now

no more, is not in its nature a single or unconnected measure. Its objects are the peace and happiness of Ireland, and the union of the empire, in affection, as well as in Government. Vain indeed would be the hope of accomplishing such purposes, solely by the repeal of a few remaining disqualifications, which, by a strange anomaly, are still left subsisting amidst the ruins of a whole code of proscription. To impute to you this visionary pretension, has been the artifice of your opponents. The views of your friends have been more enlarged.

With the just and salutary extension of civil rights to your body must be combined, if tranquillity and union be our object, other extensive and complicated arrangements. All due provision must be made for the inviolable maintenance of the religious and civil establishments of this United Kingdom. Much must be done for mutual conciliation—much for common safety; many contending interests must be reconciled, many jealousies allayed, many long cherished and mutual destructive prejudices eradicated.

Such, at least, have always been my own declared opinions. When this matter was last under the consideration of Parliament, I had occasion to dwell, with particular earnestness, on this necessity; I invited the suggestions of others for providing for it; and I enumerated several measures, which eight years before had been in the contemplation of Government, in conjunction with which I then cherished the vain hope of rendering this great service to my country.

Among these measures, I pointed out the proposal of vesting in the Crown an effectual negative on the appointment of your Bishops. That suggestion had been previously brought forward in the House of Commons, to meet the just expectations, not of any bigotted or interested champions of intolerance, but men of the purest intentions and most enlightened judgment. Men willing to do all justice to the loyalty of your present Bishops, yet not unreasonably alarmed at any possibility, by which functions of such extensive influence might hereafter be connected with a foreign interest, hostile to the tranquillity of your country. A danger recently very much increased by the captivity and deposal of the Head of your Church, by the seizure of his dominions and by the declared intention of that hostile Government to assume in future the exclusive nomination of his successors. The suggestion thus



opened to Parliament, produced there impressions highly favourable to your cause; it was received as the surest indication of those dispositions, without which all concession must be nugatory, and all conciliation hopeless. To my mind it had been recommended by long reflection. It had formed a part of the original conception of those measures as consequent upon the Union. It was now again brought forward with the concurrence of the two individuals, from whose opinions those generally prevalent among your body might best be inferred; of the agent of the very persons, to whose office it related, and of your Lordship, to whom, in addition to every other claim to respect and confidence, the exclusive charge of the petition had recently been committed. What I said on the subject in the House of Lords was spoken in the hearing of both and I received from both, while the impression was yet recent in your minds, the most gratifying acknowledgments of your satisfaction in all, that I had stated.

It was never, I believe, imagined by any of us, that what then passed could be binding on the opinions of the petitioners. The Roman Catholics of Ireland are not a corporate body. They speak through no common organ. Their various wishes and interests, like those of their fellow subjects, can be collected only from general information; and any opinions, erroneously attributed to them, they like all other persons, are fully entitled to disclaim.

I learnt, however, with deep and heartfelt regret the subsequent proceedings, which took place in Ireland, in consequence of this suggestion. To discuss the grounds of those proceedings would be foreign from my present purpose. Their effect obviously must be, not only to revive expiring prejudices, but to clog with fresh embarrassment every future consideration of any of the measures connected with your Petitions. To myself unquestionably the difficulty of originating at this time any fresh discussion of those measures, does, in such circumstances, appear almost insuperable.

Let me not, however be misunderstood. When I speak of the necessity of combining, with the accomplishment of your wishes, provisions of just security to others I am no less desirous of consulting every reasonable apprehension on your part.

To the forms, indeed, of these securities, or to the particular details of the proposed arrangements, I attach comparatively little importance. A pertinacious adherence to



such details, in opposition even to groundless prejudice, I consider as the reverse of legislative wisdom. I look only to their substantial purposes; the safety of our own establishments, the mutual good will of all our fellow subjects, and the harmony of the United Kingdom.

That adequate arrangements may be made for all these purposes, consistently with the strictest adherence, on your part, to your religious tenets, is the persuasion, which you have long been labouring to establish; and of which I have uniformly professed my own conviction.

Were it otherwise, I should indeed despair. But that these objects may be reconciled, in so far at least as respects the appointment of your Bishops, is known with undeniable certainty. It is proved by the acquiescence of your Church, in similar arrangements under other Governments, by the sentiments, which many of yourselves still entertain as to the proposal suggested in 1808, and, most of all, by the express consent formerly given to that proposal, in a declaration signed by the most considerable of your own Bishops.

I see, therefore, in the present state of this subject, much unexpected embarrassmmt, and many difficulties, which renewed discussion in the present moment, must, instead of smoothing, inevitably aggravate. There is, however, no ground for ultimate discouragement. The sentiments of reciprocal confidence, the spirit of mutual conciliation, would surmount far greater obstacles.

But nothing, permit me to remark it, can in the mean time be more injurious to your cause, than any attempt, by partial and precipitate decisions, to prejudge its separate branches, or to limit its unreserved discussion. No cause can be more grateful to your opponents, none more embarrassing to your supporters.

To Parliament, when any more favourable conjuncture for this discussion shall arise, every information may probably be supplied, every wish imparted, every apprehension communicated.—There only by a systematic and comprehensive arrangement of this extensive subject, can all its difficulties be surmounted; all its relations finally adjusted. To be effective and permanent, such an arrangement must be mutually satisfactory.

This is alike the interest of every member of the British Empire, but to none more important than to the Catholics of Ireland. The stability of all your civil rights, both of those, which you already enjoy, and of those, to which you

seek to be admitted, essentially depends on the tranquillity and harmony of your country, on banishing from it every hostile influence, and composing all its internal differences.

These opinions I have expressed to your Lordship with the freedom of a tried and zealous advocate of your cause. On these grounds alone have I ever attempted to do justice to it. To have argued it on any other would have been a dereliction of my own principles.

I need hardly add, that by the same principle, my present conduct must equally be directed.—Should the petitioners continue to entertain the desire conveyed in your Lordship's letter, that I should lay this petition upon the table of the House of Lords; with that request I cannot hesitate to comply. It would be highly improper to deny to such a body of men the opportunity of submitting, through my hands, if they should so desire it, and at their own time, their wishes to the Legislature of their own country. It would be still more inexcusable in a case, where all my opinions and all my wishes are favourable to the object of their application. On the measure itself, if any motion respecting it be originated by others, I shall not fail to urge, with unabated earnestness, all the same sentiments, which I have detailed in this letter. But I must with equal explicitness decline to be myself, at this time, and under so many circumstances of such peculiar disadvantage to your cause, the mover of any such proposition. I am satisfied, that, by this decision, I shall best promote the ultimate success of that great work, which I have long laboured to accomplish. My reasons for this persuasion I have, I trust, sufficiently explained.—They may be erroneous, they are at least sincere.

To the principle of equal laws, to the object of national conciliation, I am invariably attached. By me, they shall never be abandoned. But any personal exertions, which I can make, for purposes of such inestimable benefit to my country, must ever be regulated by that discretion, which I am equally determined in every situation to reserve unfettered by previous engagements, and the faithful exercise of which my public duty imperatively forbids me to relinquish.

I have the honor to be,

With sincere respect and regard,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

*Grenville.*

---

# I N D E X.

---

## A

**ABBOTT**, Mr. the Irish secretary, exposed by Mr. Ponsonby and given up by Mr. Addington, 97-8-9-100.

Resists and humbles Lord Clare, 122.

Gains the start of his competitors and arrives in London before them and appointed Speaker, 124.

**Abercorn**, Marquis of, encourages Orangemen, introd. 66.

Prosecution of J. Fox, vol. ii. 11 to 18, 38, 158 to 211, 273 to 279.

**Abercrombie**, Sir Ralph, his honorable testimony of Ireland, 103.

**Act of Parliament**, strange acts relating to J. Fox and Judge Johnson, vol. ii. 212.

**Addington**, Right Hon. Henry, pledged to oppose Catholic emancipation, introd. 130, 87.

Difficulty of forming his administration, 64.

Made Minister, 66.

His ministry, 70.

Orange principle of his administration, 106.

Affects not to use Government influence in the election of members of Parliament, 147.

His imbecillity exposed by Mr. Wyndham, 196, 232, 234.

His private and public attempt to seduce Mr. Sheridan into his service, 197.

Weakly courts his opponents, 234.

Tenders his resignation, vol. ii. 1.

His undue influence on the royal mind, 6, 7, 50.

(Lord Vis. Sidmouth) dines privately with the King, made Lord President of the Council, vol. ii. 30.



## INDEX.

- Addington, Insignificancy of his party, 215.  
 Resigns under Pitt, 216.  
 Obtruded by the system upon the administration in 1805, 272.
- Address to the King proposed, altered by Lord Pelham and withdrawn, 167.  
 To the Crown in favor of the new administration, vol. iii. 554.  
 From Protestants in favour of Catholic emancipation, 633.
- Administration of King's friends, 64.  
 Richmond unpopular, vol. iii. 645.
- Allocution Papal, vol. ii. 27.
- Ancient Britons, chief in the affair at Ballyholan, introd. 94.  
 Lost most of their privates in the rebellion of 1798, introd. 96.
- Armagh, an English colony and bigotted, introd. 9.  
 Persecution commences here, introd. 17, 18.  
 Resolution of their alarmed magistrates at the progress of outrages which they had encouraged, introd. 32.  
 Amnesty of the Legislature to cover the Armagh atrocities, intr. 33.  
 Insidious and adulatory address of their Grand Jury, introd. 45.  
 Lord Clare would have superseded all the Armagh magistrates, could he have found substitutes, introd. 62.  
 Their resolutions against tithes, in 1808, introd. 64.
- Arms Act, debates upon it, vol. iii. 582 to 586.
- Army, difficulties about it in the arrangements, 1806 267.  
 King consents to the arrangements of, 272.
- Arrangements, ministerial in 1801; 70.  
 Ditto in 1804, vol. ii. 4.  
 Ditto in 1806, 272, 4.  
 Ditto in 1807, 480, 1.
- Arthur, Mr. of Limerick, his case referred to, 122.  
 The case at length, Appendix 277, to the end.
- Ascendancy, Protestant in Ireland, what, introd. 3.  
 Assumed by the Orangemen, introd. 12, 132, 3, 4, 5.  
 Played upon by Mr. Pitt. introd. 137.
- Association, danger of close and proscriptive, introd. 83.
- Auckland resists the Catholic petition *in limine*, when presented by Lord Grenville, 1805, vol. ii. 55.
- Author, grossly misrepresented by Mr. Garrow, vol. ii. 238-9.  
 Vehemently attacked by Dr. O'Connor. (Columbanus the Vetoist, vol. iii. 816.

## B

- Bagwell for suspending habeas corpus, vol. ii. 36.
- Ballyholan, affair of, introd. 92.
- Barham, Mr. moves for the correspondence about the promotion of Doctor Duigenan, vol. iii. 643.

# INDEX.

3

- Barrington, Sir Jonah, his history and character of Lord Clare, 121.  
 Proposed by Messrs. Grattan and Ponsonby to the electors of Dublin, as a man of public spirit, independence and political purity, 148.  
 Negotiation between him Lord Hardwicke and Mr. Pitt, vol. ii. 229, &c.
- Bedford, Duke of, accepts of the viceroyalty at the supplication of Mr. Fox, and how, vol. ii. 286.  
 Answers the Catholics address, 225.  
 Administration wish to appear conciliatory, 408.  
 His latter conduct expressed his own feelings, 540-1.  
 His departure, 542.  
 His administration the authors of the insurrection and arms bills, vol. iii. 563 to 583.
- Beresford, John Claudius, openly laughs at the tortures of the flagellated, introd. 104.  
 Convicts Lord Castlereagh of falsehood, 73.
- Bill, draft of a bill for opening the service to Catholics, shewn by Mr. Dillon to Mr. Pitt, and disapproved of by him, 272.  
 Lord Howicke's Catholic officers' bill, vol. ii. 261 to 266.
- Bishops Catholic. Some of them tempted by Mr. Pitt to accept pensions and to depend on government, 55.  
 Eight write to Dr. Crotty to decline Napoleon's offer through Dr. Walsh of Paris, vol. ii. 457.  
 Assembled in Synod against the 5th resolution of the Board of English Catholics, 371.
- Bouchier, Col. his house near Limerick attacked, 160.
- Boulter Primate admits that English interest would cease in Ireland by union of Catholics and Protestants, introd. 90.
- Breen Mr. made a magistrate, and superseded by Mr. Ponsonby, vol. ii. 370.
- British Empire. See Empire.
- Brownlow Mr. a magistrate of Armagh, reluctantly granted a warrant to Mr. Coile, introd. 29.
- Bryan Captain expelled the Guards merely for his religion, 270.
- Buckingham Marquis of, Pitt's tool in making Ireland dependant on British ministers, introd. 109.  
 On King's recovery, gives at a gala after the King's health, that of Mr. Pitt, *the friend of Ireland*, (omitting the Prince of Wales), introd. 109.  
 Assents when in power to what he deprecates when out, vol. iii. 708.
- Eustrole Mr. refused a paymastership in the militia because a Catholic, 271.
- Burdett Sir Francis, vehement against coercion in Ireland, 82.  
 Strong for parliamentary reform, vol. iii. 729.

## INDEX.

- Burke, Right Hon. Edmund, his opinion of the English protesting Catholic Dissenters, vol. iii. 790.
- Bushe, Mr. made Solicitor General, vol. iii. 545.  
Gives a fair account of the Threshers, 611.
- Butler, Mr. an English Catholic Counsellor, co-operates with Lord Grenville and Sir J. C. Hipplesey in forwarding the Veto, 788 to 791.

## C

- Cabinet secrets disclosed by high authority, vol. ii. 490.  
Divided, vol. iii. 548.  
Further divisions of, 613.
- Camden, Earl of, tool of Mr. Pitt, introd. 16, 109.
- Canning, Right Hon. George, introduces Lord Redesdale's correspondence with Lord Fingal, 250.
- Caravata, origin and denomination of, vol. iii. 609, 610.
- Castlereagh moves for continuance of martial law, 67.  
Traits of his versatility, 72.  
Mr. Pitt's tool for carrying Union, 73.  
Convicted of falsehood by Mr. J. C. Beresford, 76.  
Describes Emmett's preparations, 169.  
Retails the postliminious caution of government after Emmett's rebellion was over, 183.  
Charged with corruption by Mr. Maddocks, 726.  
Opposes Catholic Question, 844.
- Catheart, Earl of, succeeds General Fox, as commander in chief, 236.
- Catholics, rejection of their petition by the Commons in 1792, introd. 11.  
Disarmed in Armagh, and persecuted, 25.  
7000 of them exterminated from Armagh, introd. 50.  
Tempted to schism by Mr. Pitt, 54.  
Address Lord Hardwicke in 1803, 197.  
Penal laws, which attach upon those, who serve his Majesty out of Ireland, 266.  
Determined to petition, vol. ii. 29, 31.  
Their meeting and delegation, 38.  
Their delegate's conference with Mr. Pitt, 44 to 53.  
They apply to Lord Grenville and Mr. Fox, 53.  
Their petition presented on 25th March 1805, 54, 82 to 89.  
Debates and speakers on it, 81 to 155.  
Lord Grenville, 81.  
Lord Hawkesbury, 91.  
Duke of Cumberland, } 92.  
Earl Spencer, }  
Lord Visc. Sidmouth, 93.  
Lord Mulgrave, } 94.  
Lord Holland, }



# INDEX.

5

- Catholics, Lord Camden, }  
 Bishop of Durham, } 95.  
 Lord Redesdale, }  
 Earl of Limerick, } 99.  
 Earl of Suffolk, }  
 Earl of Buckinghamshire, } 100.  
 Lord Carleton, }  
 Lord Hutchinson, }  
 Lord Redesdale, } 103.  
 Earl of Ormonde, }  
 Lord Borington, 104.  
 Archbishop of Canterbury, }  
 Earl of Albemarle, } 105.  
 Lord Chancellor Eldon, }  
 Duke of Norfolk, 106.  
 Bishop of St. Asaph, } 107.  
 Lord Ellenborough, }  
 Earl of Westmoreland, }  
 Earl Moira, } 109.  
 Earl Darnley, }  
 Lord Auckland, 110.  
 Lord King, }  
 Lord Bolton, } 111.  
 Mr. Fox, 112.  
 Dr. Duigenan, 124.  
 Mr. Grattan, 127.  
 Mr. Perceval, 133.  
 Mr. Alexander, 134.  
 Mr. W. Smith, 153.  
 Mr. Lee, 136.  
 Sir W. Scott, 137.  
 Dr. Lawrence, } 138.  
 Mr. Foster, }  
 Mr. Ponsonby, 139.  
 Mr. Pitt, 141.  
 Mr. Windham, 144.  
 Sir John Newport, 145.  
 Mr. M. Fitzgerald, }  
 Col. Archdall, } 147.  
 Mr. Dillon, }  
 Mr. Shaw, }  
 Mr. H. Addington, }  
 Mr. John Latouche, } 148.  
 Sir J. C. Hippesley, }  
 Lord De Blaquiere, }  
 Mr. C. H. Hutchinson, } 149.  
 Mr. Hawthorne, }  
 Sir W. Dolben, }  
 Mr. Fox in reply, 149 to 155.  
 List of members who voted *pro* and *con.* 156, 157.

## INDEX.

- Catholics, elated at the change of ministry, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 368.  
 Several interesting, though heated proceedings relative to Mr. Ryan's correspondence with Mr. Fox and other ministers, 293 to 320.  
 Address the Duke of Bedford, 223.  
 Resolutions of a meeting in William-street, expressive of confidence in Lord French and Mr. Keogh, 326.  
 Resolutions of an association for better collecting the sense of the country at large, 329.  
 Have full confidence in Mr. Fox, 368.  
 Are privately treated with by Mr. Ponsonby, 397, 420.  
 Offer to pay Mr. Grattan's election charges, 412.  
 Disposed to prosecute their claims, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 423.  
 Several meetings, debates and resolutions to petition, 420 to 442.  
 Their petition, 437 to 441.  
 Meeting on 27th April 1807, and warm debate, 521 to 539.  
 Do. on 19th Jan. 1808, and resolve to petition, vol. iii. 615.  
 Their petition presented by Lord Grenville to the Lords in 1808, 622.  
 Rejected by the Commons for want of original signatures, 623.  
 Presented as newly signed by Mr. Grattan on 25th May 1808, 653.  
 He required Veto, 654.  
 Petition presented to the Lords by Lord Grenville, 657.  
 He stands upon Veto, 658, 659.  
 Excluded from the Bank, 703.  
 General meeting 24th May 1809, and debate and resolutions, 741 to 779.  
 General meeting of the Catholics at Cork, and of the Catholic committee in Nov. 1809 for petitioning, 767.  
 Soldiers prevented from exercising their religion, 775 to 785.  
 Important meeting in Dublin, 10th Jan. 1810, 792.  
 Their resolutions and petitions for unconditional emancipation, 809 to 812.  
 Resolutions of a numerous meeting in Dublin, to set the question of Veto at rest, 815.  
 Their petition presented on 12th March 1810, by Lord Donoughmore with an admirable speech, 822.  
 Debates in both houses on their question, 827 to 866.  
 Effects of those debates, 868 to 871.  
 Divided upon the expediency of petitioning, 874.  
 General meeting 13th July 1810, 875.  
 Their resolutions, *ibid.*  
 Send a circular letter 30th July 1810, 882 to 887.  
 Clare, Earl of, contradicted by Mr. Orde, and fails in the clause he proposed for demolishing Catholic chapels, *Introd.* 8.  
 Made Chancellor by Mr. Pitt, *Introd.* 10.

- Clare, Earl of, Mr. Pitt's tool in carrying the Union, 8.  
     His own ambition defeated by it, 8.  
     His malicious and false speech against his country, 38.  
     Commended by Mr. Pitt, 69.  
     Disappointed and degraded by Mr. Abbott, 120.  
     His death and funeral, 121.  
     His character by Sir Jonah Barrington, 121.  
     The abuse of his influence in the case of Mr. Arthur, 122.  
     Humbled by Mr. Abbott, 123.
- Clarence, Duke of, makes a constitutional motion in Judge Fox's matter, vol. ii. 53.
- Clark, Mr. of Palmerstown, purveyor of secret information to Mr. Marsden, 170.
- Cleland, Rev. Doctor, great Orange and tythe man, tutor to Lord Castle-  
 reagh, Int. 67.
- Cloyne, Woodward, Bishop of, his controversy with Rev. Arthur O'Leary,  
 Int. 67.
- Produces union between Catholics and Presbyterians, *ibid.*
- Cockburne, General, his order against Orangemen, Int. 125.
- Coercion, renewal of the system of, 232. 243.
- Coile, Bernard, opposes the Orangemen in Lurgan, Int. 17.
- Prosecutes and convicts Mr. Greer an Orange magistrate of Ar-  
 magh, for countenancing Orange outrages, Int. 26. 56.
- Imprisoned, and conspiracy against his life, Int.
- Persecuted in Dublin, Int. 30.
- Discovers the Orange oath to Mr. Cook, Int. 58.
- Challenges and fights with Mr. Ogle, 117.
- Columbanus. Vide O'Connor.
- Committee of the House of Commons, extravagant report of, 77 to 81.
- Committee Catholic, how constituted: divisions amongst them: dissolved,  
 vol. ii. 295, 296.
- Resolutions in defence of Mr. Keogh, vol. iii. 880.
- Commons. Vide House of.
- Concordatum of, 1799, signed by some Bishops, 55.
- Concordatum, Papal, with Bonaparte, vol. ii. 27.
- Conspiracy fabricated in 1801 for coercing Ireland, 77.
- Convention act, Catholics threatened therewith, vol. 2. 320. vol. 3. 876, 877.
- Mr. W. W. Pole's circular letter thereon, 321.
- Convocation in London, 1807. An extraordinary Sermon against Catholics,  
 vol. iii. 839.
- Mr. Cook, the Under-Secretary, what manner of man, Int. 57.
- Corrinshiga Orangemen, their atrocious conduct. Screened by Government,  
 vol. iii. 711 to 714.
- Craddock, General, strong against the Orange outrages, Int. 42.
- Cornwallis, Marquis of, sent over by Mr. Pitt for insidious purposes, Int. 105.



- Cornwallis, the tool of Mr. Pitt; *Introd.* 106, 109, 136.  
 Dissolves the Court Martial which acquitted Woolaghan, *Introd.* 116.  
 His perfidy to Ireland, *Introd.* 130, 137, 8, 9.  
 Keeps the Orangemen on foot, *Introd.* 133.  
 His pledge to the Catholics authenticated by his letters to the Author, 43 to 49.  
 Pressed and ashamed to continue in office, 71.  
 His addressing and consequences of his duping the Catholics, 91, 2, 3.  
 Disclaims Sir Richard Musgrave's work, 92.  
 His departure from Ireland and character. 93, 4.  
 Undertakes to negotiate peace for Mr. Addington, 10.  
 Had a dormant commission to supersede the Duke of York in case of invasion, 203.  
 Dies in India, and monumental honours voted to him by Parliament, vol. ii. 275.
- Costley, Lieutenant, attempts the life of Dr. Ledwiche, tried and found guilty of assault, 242.
- Crawford, Colonel, strenuous for Catholic Emancipation, and against the Union, 261.
- Croker, Mr. justifies corruption in excise officers, vol. ii. 738.
- Crotty, Rev. Dr. Principal of St. Patrick's College at Lisbon, written to by Irish Bishops, 456.
- Curran, Right Hon. John Philpot, Master of the Rolls, his case, vol. ii. 334 to 347  
 What he said of the prosecution against Mr. Fay and other Catholics, *Introd.* 13.
- Cumberland, Duke of, friend and advocate of the Orange party in Ireland, vol. ii. 476.  
 Chief adviser of the present administration, 477, 8.  
 Presents the petition of the City of Dublin against the Catholics, vol. iii. 620.  
 Fails in his efforts to procure one from Trinity College, 633.  
 Interferes in procuring the reduction of Maynooth allowance, 644.

## D

- De Blaquiere, Lord, for suspending Habeas Corpus, vol. ii. 36.
- Defence Act, measures under it, 169
- Despard, Colonel, conspiracy of, 154.  
 His history and sufferings, 156.
- Diamond, Battle of, between Orangemen and Catholics, *Int.* 19.

Dillon, Hon. A. H. proposes, then drops a motion for bringing in a Bill to open the service to Catholics at the instigation of Mr. Pitt, 272.

Disturbances. Insidious resolutions of the Attorney General's to disguise the Armagh outrages, Int. 38.

Causes of internal in 1801 and 1802, 150, 161, 172.

Some internal disturbances in 1806, 404.

Dogherty, murderer of, acquitted, Int. 113.

Don, General, taken in Holland as a spy, 128.

Donoughmore, Earl of, pacifies the County of Tipperary and Waterford, 160.

Presents Catholic Petition in 1810—strongly argues their case without Veto, 858 to 861.

Downshire, election for, disgraces Lord Castlereagh, vol. ii. 242 to 249.

Lady Dowager Marchioness, her patriotism, 245.

Increasing interest of that family, 249.

Dublin, election of, 1801. 148.

Police Bill carried by Sir Arthur Wellesley for sake of patronage, vol. iii. 710.

Corporation grow more liberal, 800.

Duigenan, Rt. Hon. Dr. Patrick, friendly to Orangemen, Introd. 68, 81.

Attributes Orange atrocities to their loyalty, Introd. 84.

Grossly traduces his country, vol. ii. 37.

Motion about his promotion, 642, 3, 4, 5, and vol. iii. 642.

Dundalk meeting and resolutions of County Louth against Veto, vol. iii. 698.

Dwyer, the rebellious mountaineer, surrenders and is kept in prison two years against the terms of his surrender, 239.

## E.

Eldon, Lord Chancellor, accepted the seal on a pledge of resisting Catholic Emancipation, 88.

His conscientious professions about the King's illness, 248.

Presses the Prince to accept of unlimited regency in 1804, vol. ii. 20.

Resists Catholic Petition *in limine* 1805, 55.

Helps Lord Abercorn in his prosecution of Judge Fox, vol. ii. 159.

Principal supporter of the system, 268 to 271.

Protest of nine peers against him, ib.

A principal adviser of the present administration, 478.

Not initiated into the depth of Mr. Pitt's designs, 845.

- Elliott, Right Hon. Mr. trained to Mr. Pitt's views upon Ireland, Note 44.  
 The framer and vehement supporter of the Insurrection and Arms Bills, vol. iii. 563 to 586.  
 On the Maynooth Establishment, 638, 9.
- Ellenborough, Lord, (formerly Mr. Law) what Mr. J. H. Tooke said of him, 84.  
 What he said of Reynolds and O'Connor, 103.  
 Thrown in as a makeweight to the Addington interest in the Irish cabinet, 273.
- Emancipation, Catholic, beautifully enforced by Mr. Grattan, 125.  
 Falsely promised by Mr. Pitt, Introd. 129.
- Emmett, Robert, commencement of his insurrection, 174.  
 His preparations known to Government, 168, 9.  
 His infatuated conduct described by Lord Castlereagh, 168.  
 His several proclamations, 179, and  
 His escape to the Wicklow Mountains and caption by Major Sirr, 212.  
 He and about twenty of his associates tried and executed, 214.  
 A cautionary paper taken upon him, *ibid*.  
 Tried, condemned and executed, 215 to 220.  
 His last speech, 216 to 221.
- Enniskillen, Earl of, President of the Court Martial which acquitted Woolloghan, of the murder of D ogherty, Introd. 113.
- Empire, British, situation of at the Union, 5.
- English Catholics, their Petition and Resolutions, vol. iii. 786-7.  
 Intrigue of the Board of Catholics of Great Britain, 787.  
 Who they are, 793.  
 Their fifth Resolution reprobated by the Irish Catholic Prelacy in synod assembled, 871.
- Erskine, Lord, for going into a committee on the Catholic Question, but for Veto and Lord Grenville's Letter, 861, 2, 3.
- Events, summary of, for 1809, vol. iii. 770, 1, 2.
- Extermination, Oath of, not denied by the Orangemens' address, Introd. 86.

## F.

Finance, vide Revenue.

- Fingal, Earl of, courted by the Castle to hold back the Irish Catholics from petitioning, vol. ii. 24.  
 Attempts it ineffectually, 296.  
 Supports Mr. Keogh's motion for suspending the Petition in April, 1807, 537.  
 Catholic Petition committed to him in 1808, in full confidence, vol. iii. 621.  
 Negotiates with Mr. Ponsonby, 62.



- Fitzgerald, Mr. James, moves for accounts of state prisons, vol. ii. 76.  
 Vigilant to his country's interests, 78.  
 Mr. Maurice, speaks strongly on tithes, vol. ii. 703.  
 For Catholic question without Veto, 733, 856.  
 Sir T. Judkin, honoured and rewarded for acts of atrocity.  
 Introd. 111.
- Fitzwilliam, insidious negociation with him under Mr. Pitt, Introd. 13.  
 Appointed merely to tantalize Ireland, Introd. 109.  
 Moves enquiry into conduct of ministers, 30.  
 Strenuously exposes the extension of coercion, 102.
- Foster, Right Hon. John, and some of his family raise the suspicions  
 against Mr. Fay and other Catholics, Introd. 14.  
 Restrains the liberty of the press, 24.  
 Upbraided by Mr. Wickham for inculcating the Irish Treas-  
 ury as his humour served him, 145.  
 As Chancellor of the Exchequer sets forth the state of Irish  
 finance. vol. ii. 9, 10, 22.  
 Aims at his former power, 226.  
 Quarrels with Mr. Pitt and offers to resign, *ibid.*  
 Exposes the extravagancy of Sir John Newport's system, 401.
- Fox, General, orders troops into Kildare on perceiving symptoms of in-  
 surrection. 167.  
 His case truly stated by his brother, 235.  
 Succeeded by Lord Cathcart, 236.  
 His prudent orders misconstrued by Government into encou-  
 ragement of rebellion, 237.  
 Right Hon. Charles James, constitutional reply to Mr. Pitt  
 about Catholic Emancipation, 40.  
 Honorable eulogy of Ireland, 86.  
 Defends Ireland from Mr. Addington's obloquy, 231.  
 His exposure of the venality of Mr. Giffard's newspaper the  
 Dublin Journal, 237.  
 Reprobrates Lord Redesdale's Letters as weak, wicked and  
 mischievous, 257.  
 Reprobrates the Union and system of governing Ireland 262,  
 vol. ii. 275.  
 Deprecates the suspension of Habeas Corpus, vol. ii. 36.  
 Presents petition from Mr. T. Jones, 216.  
 His prophetic intuition overpowers Mr. Pitt, 254.  
 Deprecates Mr. Pitt's system, 264.  
 Sincere in coalescing with Lord Grenville, 265.  
 Cannot vote thanks to Mr. Pitt as an *Excellent Statesman*, 263.  
 His approach to the King dreaded by the system, 267, 272.

- Fox, Right Hon. Charles James, his love of peace and disinterestedness, 275.  
 His opinion and feeling on repeal of Union, 276.  
 Prevails on the Duke of Bedford to accept of the Government of Ireland, 286-7.  
 His health impaired, 288.  
 Insists upon the instant removal of Lord Redesdale, *ib.*  
 His correspondence with Mr. Ryan, 295.  
 His declining health concealed from the public, 368.  
 Death and character of Mr. Fox, 404.  
 Hon. Judge, Marquis of Abercorn undertakes to prosecute him in Parliament, vol. ii. 11 to 18.  
 Goes on with it, 56-7-8.  
 His case recapitulated, 158 to 211.  
 His case closed by motion of Lord Grenville, 373 to 379.  
 For getting rid of it as unconstitutional and vexatious,  
 Prince of Wales, }  
 Lords Grenville, } 373 to 379.  
     Thurlow,  
     Moir, }  
     Erskine,  
     Spencer, }
- For continuing the prosecution,  
 Duke of Cumberland, }  
 Lords Eldon, } *ib.*  
     Buckinghamshire,  
     Westmoreland,  
     Hardwicke, }
- Frizell, Mr. the barrister attempts the life of Dr. Ledwich, tried and acquitted, 242.

## G

- Garrow Mr. an English barrister grossly misquotes and misrepresents the author in *Troy v. Symmonds*, vol. ii. 238, 239.  
 Glebe-house, account and abuse of the fund, 169.  
 Gosford, Viscount, his speech to the Armagh magistrates against the Orangemen, introd. 33.  
 It gives offence to the Government, Introd. 36.  
 Giffard John, founder of the Orangemen, introd. 21.  
 His wish to exterminate the Catholics, Introd. 22.  
 A principal in the affair of Ballyholan, Introd. 94.  
 Found guilty by a court-martial of shooting at his commanding-officer, Colonel Sankey,  
 Fairly pourtrayed by Mr. Grattan on the hustings in 1801, 148.  
 Displaced by Lord Hardwicke, vol. ii. 40 to 44.  
 Attacks Mr. Grattan in his absence, 43.  
 Goes to England to petition Parliament for redress for having been dismissed 224.

His speech against Catholics in Quarter Assembly, 1807, 474-5.  
Proposes in Quarter Assembly, and carries a motion by a considerable majority against the Catholic petition, vol. iii. 618, 9, 20, 634.

How displaced by Lord Hardwicke, 635, 6.

Gore Mr. finds fault with the Bedford administration, vol. ii. 515.

Government protects the Orangemen, introd. 45, 49, 73.

Creates thereby a spirit of revenge in the people, introd. 61.

Takes the Orangemen into pay, introd. 69.

Their anxiety to conceal their military loss, introd. 72.

Dreads the union of Protestants and Catholics, introd. 90.

Apprized of Emmett's plans of insurrection, 174.

Took no precaution, 176.

Their inefficient measures, on 23d of July, 1803, 172.

Their posthumous caution, 183, 191, 192, 211, 241, 243.

Encourages perjury by affixing regular wages to informers, 199, 200.

Endeavour to throw the blame of their own surprise on General Fox, 287, 238.

Proof of their knowing of preparations, 238.

Breaks faith with Dwyer and 3 others, 239.

Plays with and insults 500,000 of subjects against law, 269.

Decries Irish loyalty, and renews coercion, vol. iii. 20.

Encourages and protects Orange atrocity in the case of Mr. Wilson, 347 to 368.

Interferes in Wexford election, iii. vol. 558.

Inconsistent conduct of, 606 to 608.

Acts partially in excluding Catholics from Grand Juries in Tipperary, 716, 7.

Attempts to smother the effects of the commissioners to investigate prison abuses, 718, 9.

Countenances and rewards corruption, 733 to 739.

Frightened into an abandonment of the Dublin Police Bill, 740.

Their inveteracy against Catholic soldiers, 775 to 785.

Rewards slander and calumny, 839.

Some of its favourites public defaulters, 867.

Combined against the civil and religious freedom of the subject, 899.

Grand Juries system and abuse of their presentments, vol. ii. 78.

Granard Lord, brings on resolutions in Longford against the Threshers, vol. ii. 415.

Grattan, Right Hon. Henry, urges Parliament to check the Orangemen, intro. 40, 41, 44, 67.

Elevated idea of Catholic emancipation, introd. 199.



- Grattan, Right Hon. Henry, his vote objected to by Mr. Giffard at the Dublin election in 1801, 148.  
 His favour with Lord Hardwicke and whence, 263.  
 Returned for Malton to speak for the Catholic question, vol. ii. 81.  
 Declines the offer of the Catholics to pay the expences of his election, 414.  
 Excellent speech in favor of Ireland, on the change of Ministry vol. iii. 559, &c.  
 Supports Insurrection Bill, 563 to 593.  
 Is silent on the Arms Bill, 583.  
 His apology for voting for the Insurrection Bill, 596 to 602.  
 His best speech on Catholic emancipation, on 11th May, 1811. 791.  
 Presents Catholic petition on 27th Feb. 1810, 810.  
 His speech then on the Veto, 810 to 815.  
 His speech on the debate for going into a committee, 827 to 833  
 Greer, Mr. an Armagh magistrate, convicted of gross misconduct and yet encouraged by Government, introd. 26.  
 Repents, asks forgiveness and declares he was set on by men high in power, introd. 31.  
 Secretary to the Armagh Grand Jury, introd. 56.  
 Grenville, Lord, accounts for Mr. Pitt's resignation, 434.  
 Urges necessity of emancipation, 42.  
 Alarm for suspension of *Habeas Corpus*, 84.  
 Warm for coercing Ireland, 85.  
 Refuses to return to power with Mr. Pitt, 163.  
 His letter to Mr. Pitt against resumption, vol. ii. 2.  
 Presents the Catholic petition, 25th March, 1805; 54.  
 How far sincere in coalescing with Mr. Fox, 265.  
 After Mr. Pitt's death goes from the King to Carleton house, 266.  
 N. B. His *Exposé* on retiring from office, 482 to 488,  
 Important avowals on the Irish pledges, 513.  
 His letter to Dr. Gaskyn on fomenting religious acrimony, vol. iii. 549.  
 His letter to Lord Fingal and speech in 1810, 669, to 676.  
 Moves for Catholic's admission to the Bank, 703.  
 Grey, Mr. (now Earl) moves an amendment to the address in 1801, for en- into the conduct of members, 30.  
 Strong against Union and emancipation, 31.  
 Charges Mr. Pitt with having given the pledge without authority, 51.  
 Opposes suspension of *Habeas Corpus*, 83.  
 Proposes the Catholic Officer's Bill, 461 to 471.  
 Gives up his bill, 476.

- Grey, (now Earl), his *Exposé*, 490, to 502.  
 Speaks handsomely of Ireland, vol. iii. 567.  
 Speaks for Catholics, and defends every part of Lord Grenville's letter, as to Veto, &c. 864.
- Habeas Corpus suspended, 81, 84.  
 ————— by bill passed in one night, 194.
- Habeas Corpus pressed by Sir Evan Nepean and Mr. Pitt on mere foreign rumour, vol. ii. 34, 35, 36. 214.
- Suspension of, expired 7th March 1806, 230.
- Hamburgh amerced and punished for violating the laws of nations, 129.  
 Their declaration to Napoleon, 130, &c.
- Hartwicke, Earl of, rewards Sir R. Musgrave for having traduced his country, Int. 108.  
 Used by Mr. Pitt to rivet the chains of Ireland, Int. 109.  
 When Colonel of Cambridgeshire Militia, forbids his men from becoming Orangemen, Int. 117.
- Wholesome observations on his duty to break up the Orange Societies, when as Viceroy he commanded the power, Int. 119  
 122, 123.
- Whether he were himself an Orangeman? Int. 120.
- His arrival in Ireland, 93.
- Principles of his government, 95 to 97, 107, 108, 109, 171, 172, 220.
- His consistency, 108.
- His tour to Munster, and anxiety to be thought mild and conciliatory, 152, 172.
- Writes to Mr. Foster that his government was surprized, 184.
- Artful answer to Catholics address in 1803, 198.
- Imposed on by Houlton, 223 to 226.
- His duplicity and imbecillity exposed in the case of General Fox, 236.
- His duplicity and hollowness exposed, vol. ii. 39, 40.
- Malignant imbecillity of his government, 76.
- Resolved to tender his resignation, 225.
- Grants to himself and family the best place in reversion, worth 16,000l. per annum, 229.
- Assumes spirit as his departure approaches, 250.
- Makes a tour into Connaught, and flattered with the forced expressions in the addresses of his conciliatory government, 251.
- Addressed by the corporation of Dublin on his supposed departure, 251, 252.
- His last efforts at popularity, 278.

- Hardwicke, departs unregretted and unaddressed (except by Dublin, Mayo, and Crossmalyna cavalry), 288.  
 His private interview with the King, 503. 504. 513.  
 His explanation about Mr. Giffard, vol. iii. 634 to 639.
- Hawkesbury. Vide Liverpool.
- Hay, Edward, Esq. his history of Wexford insurgency, Int. 101.
- Hart, Mr. petitions against Judge Fox, vol. ii. 12.
- Hertford, Marquis of, encourages Orangemen, Int. 66.
- Hevey arrested for speaking disrespectfully of Major Sirr, 110.
- Hippesley, Sir J. C. Cox, the principal actor in the Veto, vol. iii. 665.  
 Never will consent to a bill in favor of Catholics, unless founded on the 5th resolution of the English Catholics (with a view to Veto), 792.  
 His letter and plan of Veto submitted to Catholic meeting, and the effects, 794 to 798.  
 Seconds Mr. Grattan's motion in 1810.  
 His speech and particulars of him, 833 to 842.
- History, cotemporary advantages and disadvantages of, Introd. 1, 2.
- Hill, Beauchamp, a notorious defaulter, promoted in the Excise, 736, 737.
- Holland, Lord, his opinion on Mr. Pitt's resignation, 37.  
 Sreuous against suspending Habeas Corpus, 83.
- Houlton, the adventurous informer, imposes on the weakness of government, 223, 224, 225, 226.
- House of Commons do not fairly represent the sense of the people, 258.
- Howick, Viscount, now Earl Grey, *quod vide*.
- Hutchinson, Hon. Christopher Hely, excellent speech in favor of Ireland and the Prince of Wales, 201.  
 Supports Catholic Question and scouts Veto, 852.
- Hussey, Mr. opposes Mr. Keogh's argument for not petitioning, vol. ii. 528.
- Jacobinism used by Mr. Pitt for his views, 76.
- Insurrection of R. Emmett, 173 to 183.  
 Account and debates and reflections on it, vol. iii. 563 to 583.
- Johnson, Rev. Philip, of Deriaughy, violent Orangeman, Int. 64.  
 Imprisons Mr. Cochran a Presbyterian, Int. 65.  
 Addressed by the Orange Lodges, Int. 61.
- Johnson, Judge, his case, vol. ii. 58 to 74.  
 Close of his case and reflections on it, 379 to 389.
- Jones, Mr. Todd, persecuted by government as a friend to Catholic Emancipation, vol. i. 36.  
 His case and petition in 1805, 216 to 220.  
 His petition and its reception under the Richmond administration, 623 to 632.



Ireland threatened to be invaded, 9, 10.

Population of about 7000,000, vol. ii. 278.

Irish members of Parliament exempted from English taxes, 58.

Members of administration, vol. iii. 774, 775.

Jubilee and its effects in Ireland, vol. iii. 772, 773, 774.

Few Catholics attended the dinner, 800.

Judges of Oyer and Terminer go the circuits under military escorts, 193.

Juvena, nature of the letters which appeared in Cobbett under this signature, 240.

## K

Keogh, Mr. John, his speech in Feb. 1807, 427 to 434.

Do. 18th April 1807, against petitioning, 522 to 528.

His resolutions carried by a small majority on 18th April 1807, 538.

A strong resolution of his carried 24th May 1809, 746.

Shrewdly remarks on Tyrone meeting, 807.

Attacked in a letter in Freeman's Journal, signed Catholicus Ipse, and defends himself on 13th July 1810. 877. and Appendix, No. VI.

Kilkenny meeting and resolutions about Veto, vol. iii. 698.

Kilwarden, Lord, and his nephew killed, 178.

Provision for his family, b d.

King, his illness in 1801, 29. 59 to 60.

Wickedly misrepresented, 57.

Announced recovered, 67.

His real incapacity to perform the Royal functions suppressed from the public. 71. 248.

His Majesty's illness in 1804, 243 to 249. vol. ii. 19.

Imperfectly recovered, goes to Weymouth, vol. ii. 19.

Gives 100,000*l.* out of the Droits of Admiralty to the public service in 1806, 259.

Sends for Lord Grenville on Pitt's death, 265.

Set against Mr. Fox, 266.

Grants a private audience to Lord Hardwicke, 503, 504.

Relapses into his former illness, vol. iii. 898.

Ministry of King's friends, 64.

Kingston, Earl of, introduces Orangism into the county of Wexford with the North Cork militia, Int. 116.

Superintends flagellation, and laughs at the sufferers, Int. 104.

Landsdown, Marquis of, (formerly Lord Henry Petty) moves for papers concerning State prisoners, vol. ii. 75.

Commends Sir John Newport and the whole of the Bedford administration, 451.

Lascelles moves for and carries honors to Mr. Pitt as an excellent Statesman, 263.

Dr. Ledwich, his life attempted by a Barrister and Lieut. of militia, 242.

Limerick, Earl of, panegyrizes the yeomanry, and recommends the sending of the Irish militia to England in 1803, 230.

Linen duty of 3 per cent. imposed upon the exports, 249.

Liverpool accepts and holds office long enough to make out a grant of the Cinque Ports, 262.

Advises the present administration, 478.

London city, Alderman Birch moves against Lord Howicke's bill, vol. ii. 261.

Londonderry, Earl of, encourages Orangism, int. 66.

Long, Mr. the Irish Secretary, fails in reconciling Messrs. Pitt, Foster, and Lord Hardwicke, vol. ii. 250.

Longford resolutions against Threshers, vol. ii. 415.

Lyttleton, Mr. his motion on the change of administration in 1807, 513, 514, 515, 516.

## M

M'Intosh, one of the 80 on whom alone R. Emmett depended, 214.

Magistrates, Lord Gosford's address to the Armagh, int. 33.

Mahaffy and Ryan stipendiary perjured informers, 200.

Mahon, Mr. Nicholas, for petitioning in April 1807, vol. ii. 856.

Mansell, Rev. Mr. of Portadown, preaches vehemently against the Catholics in 1795, int. 17.

Makes informants renounce their religion, int. 28.

Marsden, Mr. Alexander, Under-Secretary, his power, 169.

Knew of Emmett's insurrection, 171.

Saw Lord Kilwarden, but gave him no caution on the day of his death, 177.

Procures a partial report of Emmett's insurrection to flatter government, 215.

Executes the new system of secret rigor, 226.

Writes, or gets pamphlets written to defend the surprized government, threatened by Mr. James Tandy, and procures his release, vol. ii. 22.

Chief projector and instrument of the Hardwicke government, 278.

- Marsden, rewarded under Bedford administration, 398.  
 Address to him from the city, negatived, 399.
- Mason, Mr. St. John, a State prisoner, his sufferings, and book upon prison abuses, 188.
- Martial Law continued in Ireland in 1801. 67. 74.
- Martin, Mr. of Galway, supports the suspension of the Habeas Corpus, 83.
- Meade, Hon. Colonel, returned for Down, vice Lord Castlereagh, vol. ii. 249.
- Melville, Viscount (Mr. Dundas), negotiates unsuccessfully for Mr. Pitt's return to office, 162.
- Militia, number of officers encreased, 58.  
 Paucity of Catholic officers a national grievance, *ibid*.  
 Opposed by Messrs. Wyndham and Elliott, 164.  
 Irish admitted to have put down the rebellion in 1793, 165.  
 Disinclined to volunteer for the line, and why. 166. 260.  
 Their loyalty and good conduct admitted by all, vol. ii. 80. 260.  
 Objections against their volunteering for the line, vol. iii. 587.
- Ministers, their backwardness and silence about the King's illness in 1804, vol. ii. 143 to 149.  
 Their conduct to ward off the Catholic Question in 1807, 157 to 160.  
 Conduct of the present on entering office, 476.
- Moir, Earl of, his opinion upon Mr. Pitt's resignation, 36.  
 Strenuous against suspending Habeas Corpus, 3.
- Morris, Mr. Harvey Montmorency, arrested with Mr. Tandy and others at Hamburg, 127.  
 Brought up with Mr. Tandy, to shew cause, why he should not be put to death for not having surrendered, 133.  
 Discharged after three years imprisonment on bail, 133.
- Musgrave, Sir Richard, falsifies the number of Presbyterian Orangemen, *int*. 66.  
 Commends Dr. Duigenan, as friendly to Orangemen, *int*. 68.  
 Misrepresents the number of yeomen, *int*. 72.  
 Blamed and rewarded for traducing his country, *int*. 107.
- Muley, Mr. with whom Russell lodged, confined for three years and ill treated, 186, 187.
- Matiny on board three ships in Bantry Bay, 106.
- Mathew, Hon. Montague, strongly in favor of his country, vol. iii. 617.  
 Debate on Maynooth establishment, vol. iii. 639, 640.
- Maynooth College, encreased allowance of, 5000*l*. 452 to 457.  
 Allowance reduced to 9,250*l*. 637 to 642.
- Melancthon, his letter to Dr. Troy about the coronation of Napoleon by the Pope, vol. ii. 28.
- Milner, Dr. a Catholic Bishop, and Agent to the Irish Catholic Bishops, confers with Mr. Pensoyby, and his letter to him about Veto, vol. iii. 648 to 652.  
 Gives immediate rise to the Veto controversy, 663.



- Milner, Dr. first for, then against Veto, 870.  
 Thanked by the Irish Catholic Prelates in Synod, 871.
- Moylany, Dr. Titular Bishop of Cork, his visit to Bulstrode misrepresented, vol. iii. 605.
- Napoleon, his Bishop takes fair advantage of British intolerance, vol. iii. 603, 4.
- Newport, Sir John, Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer, vol. ii. 274.  
 Undertakes to reform abuses in revenue, 402.  
 Defends the Bedford administration. 518, 9.  
 Supports the Catholic question, vol. iii. 843.
- Newry, Orangism increased thereabouts, introd. 92.  
 Strong and dignified address to the Duke of Bedford from the Catholics there, vol. ii. 330.
- Magistrates prosecute Mr. O'Hanlon for the Catholics' address to the Duke of Bedford, 444 to 451.
- Newspapers, their use and abuse, vol. iii. 408.
- Northland, Lord, encourages Orangism, introd. 66.
- Oath of Allegiance obliged the Author to write, pref. 11.  
 Of Orange men felonious by statute V.  
 What it originally was, introd. 45.  
 Of Orangemen explained, introd. 132-3-4-5.
- O'Bryen, Jemmy, the noted perjured informer, 111.
- Obery and Sons active in destroying the Catholic chapel of Tartaraban, introd. 48.
- O'Connel, Counsellor, for the Catholics suspending not abandoning their petition, 532 to 536.  
 His admirable speech for the repeal of the Union, 896.
- O'Connor, Arthur, Emmett and M'Nevin's testimony about the Orangemen, introd. 53, 60, 61.  
 Roger liberated on bail, his case, 10 to 22.  
 Rev. Doctor alias Columbanus assimilated to Peter Walsh, 818.  
 Disclaims the veracity of his grand-father and his own Irish prejudices, 821.
- Odel, Colonel, solicits a renovation of Martial Law, 158.
- O'Gorman, a notable instance of the coercive system, vol. iii. 220-1-2-3.  
 His cautious and manly conduct in Clare, 332.  
 Opposes Mr. Keogh's motion against petitioning in 1807, 529.
- O'Grady, Standish, made Attorney-general, thro' Mr. Marsden, commends the vigilance of Government and made Chief Baron, 174.

- O'Hara, Mr. opposes motion for monumental honors to Lord Cornwallis, on account of the Union, vol. ii. 275.
- O'Hanlon Mr. prosecuted by Newry magistrates, vol. 441 to 451.  
Superseded and restored by Lord Chancellor Manners, vol. 890.
- O'Leary, Rev. Arthur, his writings, pension and death, intro. 6.
- Omagh, Orange outrage there in 1809, introd. 143.
- Orange societies, reasons for writing the introduction, pref. viii.  
Their effects on modern Irish history, introd. 3.  
First lodge formed 21st Sept. 1795, intro. 19.  
Their outrages encouraged by the magistracy of Armagh, introd. 20, 22, 24.  
Their extirpatory notices in Armagh, introd. 24.  
Mischievous suppression of their outrages, introd. 30.  
Their progress alarms the magistrates, introd. 32.  
Legislative partiality to Orangemen, introd. 39, 43, 44.  
Countenanced by Government, introd. 49, 56, 73.  
Encourage united Irishmen, introd. 63.  
Extend into neighbouring counties, introd. 63.  
Encouraged from the pulpit, introd. 64.  
Do. by noblemen in Ulster, introd. 66.  
Taken into pay by Government, introd. 69.  
Become Yeomen, introd. 71.  
At war even with man's intentions, introd. 76.  
Their address in 1797, introd. 77, 85.  
Consider Catholics as enemies, introd. 80.  
Their 7 mock resolutions according to Musgrave, 97.  
Their secret signs and oaths, introd. 83.  
Their numbers terrible, introd. 90.  
Introduce lodges and pitch caps to Wexford, introd. 101.  
Proselytize successfully amongst the English Militia, and why? introd. 116.  
Evil of keeping them on foot, introd. 121.  
Checked by General Cockburne in 1810, introd. 125.  
Individually against Union, introd. 139.  
Their address to the public in 1800, introd. 140.  
Their atrocities at Omagh,  
Their rules and regulations, 114, &c.  
Encouraged by the Duke of York, 27, 28.  
Solemnization of the 12th July, 1801, in Dublin, 149.  
Their atrocities and impunity in the case of Mr. Wilson, 347 to 367.  
Their outrages countenanced by the Richmond administration, 711 to 714.

Orange societies, renovation of, their institute and instances of misconduct, at  
 Kilkenny, Enniscorthy, Enniskillen, Omagh, Monrath, Baile-  
 borough, Dublin and Bandon, 750 to 766  
 Their ferocity and secrecy increased, 775 to 785.  
 Atrocities in July, 1810, 887 to 799.  
 Orangeism produced the Wexford rebellion, introd. 100.

## P

Parliament, Imperial, opened by commission in 1801, 9.

Dissolved on 29th June, 1801, 147.

New meets in Nov. 1801, 153.

Proceedings in 1802, 168.

Meets in Nov. 1803, 229.

Prorogued in July, 1804, vol. 13.

Meets in Jan. 1805, 31.

Suddenly dissolved on 12th July, 223.

Meets on 6th Jan. 1806, 258.

Prorogued 23rd July, King's speech hints not at Ireland, 396.

Dissolved in 1806, 411.

New Parliament meets, 13th Dec. 1806, 419.

Dissolved in 1807, vol. iii, 547.

New Parliament meets 26th June, 1807, 554.

Debates on Impropriety of Dissolution, 556.

Meets on 21st Jan. 1808, 616.

Prorogued, 8th July, 1808, 710.

Meets, 19th Jan. 1809, 721.

Suddenly prorogued, 16th June, 1809, 740.

Meets, 23, Jan. 1810, 807.

Their indifference to Irish concerns, 827.

Parnell, Mr. brings on a motion against tithes, vol. iii, 702.

For Catholic petition and against Veto, 854.

Parsons, Sir Laurence, (now Earl of Ross) opposes and exposes the Orange  
 ministry, introd. 42.

Parties, state of them in 1801, 104.

Do. in Autumn 1803, 228-9.

Do. in April, 1806, vol. ii, 290.

Do. in March, 1807, 443, 5.

Do. in Jan. 1808, 809.

Paving board in Dublin, Lord Hardwicke's last manœuvre, vol. ii, 273-9.

Peace, the preliminaries signed and their consequences, 115.

Peep of Day Boys, fathers of Orangemen, introd. 21.

Pelham (now Earl of Chichester) promises to correct the Orangemen, intre.  
 67.

Defends them, introd. 82.

Frightened away from Ireland in 1798, 72.

His zeal for coercion rewarded with a peerage, &c. 86, 105.



# INDEX.

- Pelham, (now Earl of Chichester) objects to a Catholic address, 167.
- Perceval, Right Hon. Spencer, vehemently opposes Mr. Hutchinson's motion in favour of Ireland, 210.
- Determinately adverse to any Catholic Concession, vol. ii. 267, 453, 472, 459.
- Opposes Maynooth establishment, 453, and vol. iii. 640.
- Gets rid of Mr. Sheridan's motion to look into the state of Ireland by previous question, 600.
- Strong reply to Mr. Grattan on Veto, 656-7, 814.
- Promises to undertake a remedy for the evil of tithes, 703.
- Charged by Mr. Madocks with corruption, 724.
- Neither can nor will remedy the evil of tithes, 734-5, 822 to 827.
- Opposes Catholic question, 843 to 852.
- Perjury encouraged by Government, 22, 111, 200.
- Petty, Lord Henry (now Marquis of Landsdown) *quod vide*.
- Pitt, Mr. first meditates Union, Introd. 5.
- He raises dissension in Ireland, introd. 6, 7, vol. ii. 528-9.
- Hostile and tyrannical to Ireland, introd. 10, 105, 109, 220.
- Divides the country, introd. 12, 13, 105.
- Conspires against Catholic emancipation and the honor and credit of Lord Fitzwilliam, introd. 15.
- Sends over Lord Cornwallis to dupe Ireland, introd. 105.
- His shameful means of forcing Union, introd. 111, 125, 29.
- Never intended to emancipate Ireland, introd. 132-3-4-5.
- Character of, 5.
- His progress towards Union, 22 to 25.
- Causes of his abdication, 25, 26, 56.
- His insincerity as to slave trade and emancipation, introd. 29.
- Outvoted in Cabinet on 30th Jan. 30.
- His administration closed on 5th Feb. 1801, 33.
- Cause of his resignation according to Lord Grenville, 33.
- Given by himself, 40.
- His pledge to the Catholics, explained by himself, 42 to 49.
- His reserved and insidious meaning thereof, 51.
- Unguardedly admits his reserved conditions to emancipation which the Whigs would not support, 52.
- Endeavours to seduce the Catholics into schism, 55.
- His innate opposition to Mr. Fox, 64, 66.
- His conduct on retiring, 65.
- Resorts to Jacobinism for pretexts, 96.
- Strenuous for coercing Ireland, 85.
- Pledges to support Mr. Addington, 87.
- His hostility to Ireland beyond the grave, 94.
- Peace with France, the real ground of his secession, 105, 161.

- Pitt, Mr. goes into open opposition to Addington, 162.
- To degrade the Prince of Wales and prevent the emancipation of Ireland, two favourite objects with him, 203, vol. ii. 25.
  - His base acts to return to power, 234.
  - Pines for return to office, 258.
  - Intrigues for his return to power, 269.
  - Helped by Duke of York, 265.
  - Submits to new pledges on tenure of office, 265.
  - Dissuades Mr. Dillon from bringing in a bill to open the service to Irish Catholics, 272.
  - His arrogance and duplicity, 272 to 276.
  - Returns to power under new principles and pledges. vol. ii. 3, 46.
  - His rivalry with Buonaparte, vol. iii. 6, 7, 224, 228, 250.
  - Dreads the discussion of the Catholic question, 25, 6.
  - Offers his resignation which is refused, 31.
  - Advises the rejection of Napoleon's pacific overtures, 48-9.
  - His conference with the Catholic deputies 54 to 56.
  - Yields to Lord Abercorn *in re* Fox, 58.
  - Defection of his friends, 224, 250.
  - Differs from Lord Hardwicke and Mr. Foster, 227, 8.
  - The failure of his continental politics overpowers him, 254.
  - His health declines and he returns from Bath to his house on Putney heath, 257.
  - His death, 260-1.
  - Public funeral and Parliamentary honors voted to him as an *excellent statesman*, 263.
  - Lord Liverpool's account of his pledge on return to office, 489.
  - Never communicated his plans to his tools, 835. 845.
- Places, list of Irish called for by Parliament, 58.
- Pledges, unconstitutional required of the Grenville Administration, vol. ii. 288, 502.
- Of Government in 1793 entered in the Secretary of State's office, 494.
  - Mr. Brand's motion upon them lost, vol. ii. 567, 8.
- Plunkett, Mr. the Irish Attorney-general speaks well upon the demand of Catholic claims, vol. ii. 508.
- Resigns his office, vol. iii. 545.
- Ponsonby, Right Hon. George, urges Parliament to check the atrocity of Orangemen, 39.
- Receives the Great Seal, vol. ii. 288.
  - Ireland under his influence, 292.
  - Addressed by the Bar, 332.
  - His transaction with Mr. Curran, 364 to 347, and App. No. VII.
  - Takes in hand the revision of the Wexford and Carlow Magistracy, 369 to 373.

- Ponsonby, Right Hon. George, manages with the Catholics to hold back their petition, 397.
- Bar takes leave of him, vol. iii. 546.
- His conversation with Bishop Milner, 648.
- Proposes Veto, 655.
- Singular speech on the charge of corruption against Mr. Percival and Lord Castlereagh, 727.
- Speaks strongly on tithes, 731.
- Made leader of opposition, 615.
- Supports Catholic question subject to Veto, 846-7.
- Poor Irish injured by the Union, vol. ii. 170.
- Debate on their relief in 1806, 392 to 395.
- Pope Pius VII. crowns Napoleon, vol. ii. 26.
- Portland, Duke of, his affected zeal and tenderness for the King's conscience, 32.
- Pledges himself to Irish officers that the service should be open to them, 519.
- Prelates, *vide* Bishops.
- Presbyterians driven into union with the Catholics. introd. 7, 11.
- How become Orangemen, introd. 65.
- Their number exaggerated by Sir Richard Musgrave, introd. 66.
- Presentments *vide* Grand Juries.
- Prince of Wales recommended by Mr. Hutchinson to be sent Lord Lieutenant to Ireland, 203.
- System of Mr. Pitt to thwart his Royal Highness, 204.
- His Royal Highness' admirable letter to the King, 204 to 209.
- Ministers attempt to set him against Ireland, 299.
- Visits Lady Downshire at Umberley, 246.
- Adopts Mr. Fox's principles, 217.
- Takes much interest in the formation of the new arrangements in 1806, 266.
- His conduct on the change of Administration, vol. iii. 561.
- Prison abuses in Ireland, 188-9, vol. ii. 21, 75, 76.
- Prisoners, state, released on expiration of the suspension, 7th March, 1806. 280.
- Brought on by Mr. Sheridan, vol. iii. 700-1-2.
- Commission attempted to be smothered, 717, 8.
- Power, spiritual and temporal, vol. ii. 100. vol. iii. 695, 696.
- Powis, Earl of, designed to be successor to Lord Hardwicke, vol. ii. 251.
- Protestants, Irish, their increasing liberality, vol. iii. 603. 645, 646.
- Petition against tithes, 733.



## R

- Redesdale, Lord, made Chancellor of Ireland, 124.  
 Chief adviser of the Irish government, 195.  
 Encourages the informing impostor Houlton, 223 to 226.  
 His correspondence with Lord Fingal, 250 to 257.  
 Of opinion that Ireland cannot be secured without a standing army of 20,000 men, and each of them a Protestant, 263.  
 Resists Catholic petition in limine, 1805, vol. ii. 55.  
 Complains to the bar of being instantly and insultingly removed, 280, 281, 282.
- Rebellion, causes tending to make it explode according to O'Connor, Emmett, and M'Nevin, int. 98.
- Regency, private negotiations about it, vol. ii. 20.
- Reform, abolition of useless places, vol. ii. 451.  
 One omitted in the former enquiry, vol. iii. 562.  
 Parliamentary, wished by Mr. Madocks, and opposed by Lord Milton, 726, 727.
- Revenue, annual votes, 89.  
 State of, in 1804, vol. ii. 10.  
 Abuses of, set forth by Mr. Foster, 10. 452.  
 State of, in 1806, 389 to 392.  
 Reforms in it, proposed by Sir J. Newport, 398, 399, 400. vol. iii. 735, 736, 737, 738, 739.  
 Its state in 1801 and 1810, 399.  
 Do. in 1810, and abuses in it, vol. iii. 867.
- Richmond, Duke of, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, his administration, vol. iii. 543.  
 Receives the freedom of the city of Dublin, vol. iii. 544.  
 Specially recommends Dr. Duigenan to be raised to a Privy Counsellor, 642.  
 Adverse to Catholics, favorable to Orangemen, 711 to 717.  
 His affability and professions to Catholics on his Southern tour, 768, 769, 770.  
 Renewed severity towards Catholics, particularly in the army, 775 to 780.
- Riddall, Sir James, the first Sheriff who summoned a Roman Catholic on a Dublin Grand Jury, 801.  
 Complies with the Dublin requisition, 895.  
 His conduct endears him to his countrymen, 896.
- Rolls Court in Ireland, 69. vol. ii. 338. 340.
- Romilly, Sir Samuel, great in his speech upon the unconstitutional pledges demanded of Ministers, vol. ii. 510.
- Rowan, Mr. Wm. Hamilton, pardoned, vol. ii. 241.

Russell, Mr. his insurrection, 185 to 191.

Tried, condemned, and executed, 222.

Rutland, Duke of, Pitt's tool in debauching Ireland, 109.

Ryan, Mr. his conduct in bringing on the Catholic claims, vol. ii. 293 to 320.

## S

Sankey, Colonel of Dublin city militia, shot at by Captain Giffard, 60.

Sandys Major, 110.

His conduct to prisoners, vol. iii. 701.

Saurin made Attorney General, vol. iii. 545.

Scott, Sir William, opposes Catholic Question, vol. ii. 127. vol. iii. 842.

Secret advisers of the Crown in 1807, vol. ii. 477, 478.

Scævola, constitutional letters under this signature in 1807, vol. ii. 506.

Shanavests, their origin and denomination, vol. iii. 609, 610.

Sheridan, Dr. author of unbiassed Irishmen, Int. 31.

Right Hon. R. Brinsley opposes martial law, 67. 82.

Singly opposes insurrection and arms bills, vol. iii. 563 to 586.

His motion on the state of Ireland, 58 to 595.

Strongly in favor of his country, 617.

Brings on prison abuses, 700, 701, 702.

Sidmouth, Viscount, his mean versatility, vol. iii. 543.

Answers Lord Grenville on Veto, 660.

Sirr, Major, 110.

Speech, King's, under Bedford administration, Ireland not mentioned in it, 419.

Under the Richmond administration notices not Ireland, vol. iii.

554, 555. 710. 721. 740.

Contains falsehood, 555. 808.

Stanley, Sir Edward, Sheriff of Dublin, refuses to comply with the requisition of the Grand Jury and Freeholders, 894.

Stafford, Marquis of, his motion upon the pledges, vol. ii. 511.

Stamer, Sir William, repents of having become an Orangeman, int. 116.

Suffolk, Earl of, his honorable testimony of Ireland, 104. vol. ii. 34.

Synod, Synodical resolutions of Catholic Irish Bishops against the Veto in 1808, vol. iii. 698.

System, Pitt, fatal to Ireland and the Empire, 86. 264.

Verified in the case of Mr. Arthur, 122.

Do. in the case of Mr. O'Gorman, vol. ii. 220, 221, 222, 223.

Of coercion and severity renewed, 198.

Secret operations of, 444.

Openly assails the Grenville administration, 473.

## T

- Taaffe, Mr. refused admittance into the Scotch Greys because a Catholic, 271.
- Tandy, Mr. Napper, his conduct and trial by Court Martial, 125.  
 Indicted, flies the country, and lands in a French vessel at the Isle of Rutland, 126.  
 Arrested at Hamburg with others at the instance of Lord Grenville, 127.  
 Brought up with Mr. Morris to shew cause why sentence of death should not be passed, 133.  
 Acquitted on the motion, he was sent to Lifford to take his trial on a new indictment, 137.  
 Pleads guilty, and sentence passes on him, 138.  
 Pardoned by the King, and yet execution ordered upon him at the suggestion of Mr. Marsden, without giving official intimation of the pardon to his son, 139.  
 Base conduct of government on Mr. James Tandy's refusal to consent that his father should be transported, 139.  
 Fabrication of the Judge's report against Mr. Tandy, 140.  
 Mr. Abbott disclaims Sir John Stewart's history of the Judge's report, 141.  
 He challenges Lord Pelham and Lord Spencer with wilful deception, 144.  
 Wretched and mean shuffling of government in his regard, 142.  
 He sails and arrives at Bourdeaux—government false, mean and dissimulating in his regard, 143.
- Tandy, Mr. James, petitions against Dr. Trevor and Mr. Marsden, vol. ii. 21, 22.
- Tartarahan, Catholic Chapel of, destroyed by the Orangemen, int. 48.
- Tarleton, General gives honorable testimony of the Irish soldier, vol. ii. 80.
- Temple, Lord, opposes Dr. Duigenan's obloquy, vol. ii. 37.
- Terror, reign of, begins from Lord Fitzwilliam's recall, Int. 16.
- Test Act, how it operates upon Catholic soldiers serving out of Ireland, 268.
- Tierney, Mr. speaks fairly for Ireland, vol. ii. 520, 521.
- Tighe, Mr. his patriotic speech on his country in 1807, vol. ii. 514, 515.
- Tipperary, scandalous conduct of some of their magistrates, Introd. 112.  
 Catholic meeting and resolutions, vol. iii. 717.
- Tithes, Proctors, petitions against them, vol. iii. 702, 729 to 735.  
 Curious method of improving them, 734.  
 Motion for investigating the evil rejected, 827.  
 List of members who voted pro and con, *ibid.*



- Threshers, vol. ii. 405 to 411.  
     Extend to Longford, 415.  
     Their ravages and suppression, vol. iii, 611, 612.
- Tooke, John Horne, his opinion of Lord Ellenborough, 84.
- Trevor, Dr. Inspector of prisons, tool of Mr. Marsden in the system of secret rigor, 227.  
     Complained of by prisoners, vol. ii. 21.  
     His conduct towards prisoners, vol. iii. 700; 1, 2, 3.
- Troy, Most Rev. Doctor, titular Archbishop of Dublin, brings an action against Symmonds the publisher of the Anti-Jacobin, vol ii. 236 to 241.
- Tyrone, County, Meeting to encourage division amongst the Catholics by Veto, 801 to 807.

## U.

- Union, first germ of it in Mr. Pitt's mind, introd. 4.  
     Projected and accomplished by Mr. Pitt and Lord Cornwallis, introd. 105.  
     Mr. Pitt's masterpiece, 1.  
     Solemn proclamation of, 2.  
     Peerages and promotions, 3.  
     Club and Gala in London, 9.  
     Insincere means of carrying it, 73.  
     Articles of broken through by distillery bills, vol. ii. 14.  
     Mr. Fox's opinion about its repeal, and the consequences of it in Dublin, 276.  
     Proceedings of several corporations in Dublin to bring about its repeal, vol. iii. 892.  
     Requisition for a general meeting for that purpose, 893.  
     Aggregate Meeting on 29th September, 1810, and their resolutions, 896 to 898.

## V.

- Vandeleur, Mr declares that Lord Clare would have removed the Armagh magistrates could he have found substitutes,
- Vereker, Colonel, solicits renovation of Martial Law, 158.
- Verner, James, and his sons Orangemen, introd. 47.  
     Charged with burning out O'Neill, ibid.

- Veto. Germ of from Mr. Pitt, 1799, 54.  
 Origin of the contest, vol. iii. 622.  
 Nature of and its controversy, 661 to  
 Decline of in Ireland, 789.  
 English abettors of, 790.  
 Clandestine Irish party for it, 472.  
 Protested against by Catholic Committee and Laity, *ibid*.

## W.

- Wales, Prince of, *vide* Prince.  
 War, preparations for in 1802, 163.  
 Wellesley, Sir Arthur (now Lord Wellington) Irish secretary receives the  
 freedom of the City of Dublin, vol. iii. 544.  
 Westmoreland, Earl of, tool of Mr. Pitt, introd. 16, 109.  
 Wexford Insurrection created by Orangeism, introd. 100.  
 More ferocious than any, introd. 104.  
 Wickham, Mr. Secretary, establishes a Court of Enquiry at Limerick,  
 160.  
 Author's conversation with 172.  
 Retires and is succeeded by Sir Evan Nepean, 240.  
 Boasts of the clandestine guilt of Mr. T. Jones, vol. ii. 219.  
 William III, his tolerancy, introd. 85.  
 Wilson, a Tyrone magistrate, protects the Catholics against outrages,  
 introd. 53.  
 His case and correspondence with three governments, vol. ii.  
 347 to 367.  
 Wolfe, Miss, announces her Father's death to Colonel Littlehales and other  
 military gentlemen over the bottle, 177.  
 Wollaghan, the murderer of Dogherty, acquitted, introd. 113.  
 Wrottesley, Sir John, his motion about Emmett's rebellion made to bring  
 back Mr. Pitt, 250.  
 Wynne, William Watkins Sir, commanded at Ballyholan, introd. 94.

## Y.

- Yeomanry, their origin and few Catholics, introd. 71.  
 Government afraid to encrease them, introd. 72.  
 Much Orange atrocity lies at their door, introd. 73.  
 Inhuman orders of the corps to murder whomever they sus-  
 pected, introd. 113.  
 Put on permanent duty in 1803, 28.

York, Duke of, peculiar patron of the Protestant Ascendancy in Ireland,

27, 21.

His influence upon the King, 203.

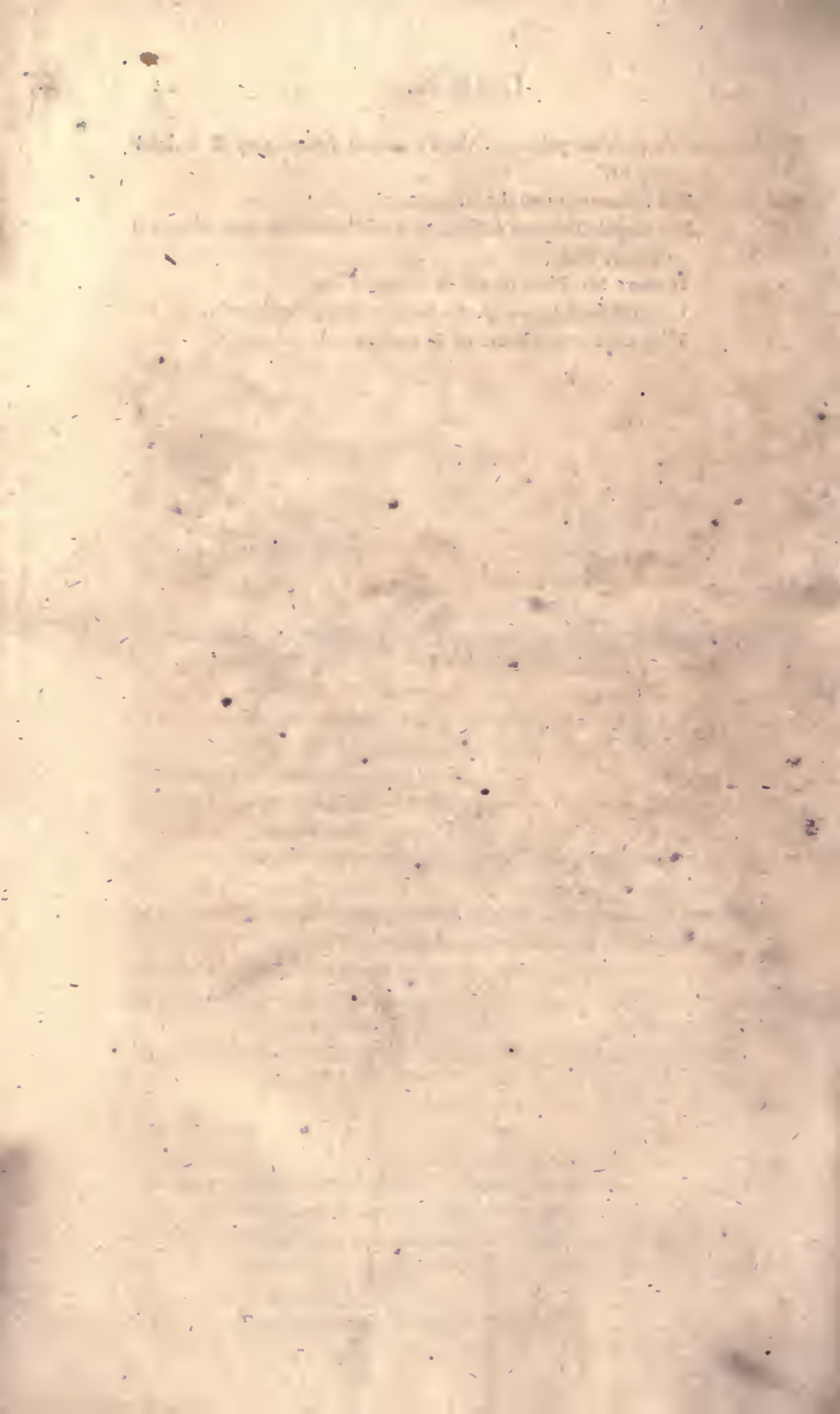
His Royal Highness diffided in by Ministers in case of actual danger, *ibid.*

Favours Mr. Pitt's return to power, 265.

Closeted four days with the King on Pitt's death, 262.

His Letter to the house of Commons, vol. iii. 722, 3.





No. IV.

TO THE

CLERGY AND LAITY

OF THE

ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCHES IN IRELAND,  
&c. &c.*Reverend Brothers, Beloved Children, peace be to you!*

Inasmuch as we were called upon by an alarm of danger to Religion, to speak our common sentiment at a former time, and accordingly did, on the 14th day of September 1808, enter into and publish certain *Resolutions*, then judged necessary: And whereas the danger, we then hoped to avert, and the agitation, which we laboured to quiet, have been renewed, and principles disallowed by the Roman Catholic Church, are assiduously disseminated amongst the faithful, for an avowed purpose of innovation. Moreover, whereas, amongst other vain things, it is pretended, that the doctrines of this clergy, that is to say; the avowed doctrines of the R. C. Churches in Ireland, form the chief obstacle to the immediate attainment, by Irish Catholic people, of all the advantages of the constitution; (an argument, by which, if even true, our forefathers would not have been tempted to waver; for they knew, that their Faith, if true, was also immortal; and that their perseverance in that faith, enlivened by Charity, would conduct them to a glorious and everlasting inheritance :) And, whereas, it is most necessary to admonish our flocks, lest that Providence, which has carried onward their paternal Faith through meritorious constancy, to the verge of freedom, henceforth abandon us, in the last moments of temptation, in punishment of yielding to unbelief and contradiction, now that we are relieved, by the mercy of law, from positive suffering.

Invoking the name of Christ, and having only God before our eyes, we have discussed and considered several

points of R. Catholic Religion, and Doctrine, comprised in these following Resolutions.

1. Resolved, that it appertains to the order, charge, and spiritual authority of Bishops in the Catholic Church, and is inseperable from their mission, to propose, entertain and judge, without any lay intervention, on points of Christian Faith and of general discipline; whereby the Universal Church is connected into one mind and one body, as the body of Christ.

2. Resolved, that we do hereby confirm and declare our unaltered adherence to the Resolutions unanimously entered into at our last General Meeting, on the 14th of September, 1808.

3. Resolved, that the oath of allegiance, which, under the provisions of an Irish act of parliament, enacted in that behalf, is tendered to, and is taken by his Majesty's Irish Roman Catholic subjects, was agreed to and approved by all the R. C. Bishops in Ireland, after long and conscientious discussion, and consultation had with the several Catholic universities and individual authorities throughout Europe; and that said oath contains such ample declaration of civil faith and attachment, such total and explicit abjuration of all foreign prétensions, whether spiritual or temporal, to intermeddle in the civil establishments, or laws of this part of his Majesty's dominions, and such authentic protestation of our doctrines in the only matter then affording ground for slander or jealousy, as that said oath furnishes a security, such as we believe is not demanded by any other state from native subjects, and beyond which no pledge can be effectual, short of the overthrow of our consciences, or such other perpetual and public degradation of our communion, as will tend to disquiet the government, notwithstanding an ostensible emancipation, by the sense of indignity on the one hand, and by the continuance of suspicion on the other.

4. Resolved, that said oath, and the promises, declarations, abjurations, and protestations, therein contained, are notoriously to the Roman Catholic Church at large, become a part of the Roman Catholic Religion, as taught by us, the Bishops; and received and maintained by the Roman Catholic churches in Ireland, and, as such, are approved and sanctioned by the other Roman Catholic Churches. So that it appears to us utterly impossible, that any way



is left to any foreign authority, whereby the allegiance of Irish Catholics can be assailed, unless by that, which God avert, by open invasion; in which extreme supposition, as we will persevere by God's grace to do our duty, so we have certain hope, that every true son of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland will eagerly prove, how well his Religion can stand with the most heroic allegiance.

5. Resolved, that the Roman Catholic Church teaches, that of the Christian polity, a most essential part is the principle and tendency of an unceasing communication in divine things amongst all the faithful; of which even the temporary suspension is a misfortune to mankind, but the perpetual abrogation by human law must be considered by us as manifest oppression of conscience.

6. Resolved, that this immoveable doctrine neither contradicts the duty, nor impedes the zeal of the most faithful and generous attachment to Kings and to lawful authorities, but, on the contrary, exalts this duty to a divine station; because our Religion, of which that communion is the bond, teaches fidelity above temptation, unexampled obedience to laws, and that, in all human duties, we must surpass, for conscience sake, the measure of them, who serve merely for reward, or through fear.

7. Resolved, that the Primacy of the Roman Catholic Church is known, of fact, to have devolved on his Holiness, Pius VII. now, as we have reason to believe, a secluded prisoner in the hands of the public enemy; but that such his imprisonment is not a deposition, nor does it amount to a deposition; because no Bishop may rightfully be put down from his rank, unless by voluntary resignation, or canonical judgment; and the rank of the Bishop of Rome being sole and single, imports in the term, its inherent authority, which is not subject to any portion of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy, however respectable, or to any lay Catholic authority, however extensively or even universally predominant.

8. Resolved, that in his said Holiness, his captivity notwithstanding, the right still abides of giving communion and confirmation to Bishops of the Roman Catholic Church; whereby Bishops, so confirmed, are recognized by one another, and by the Church at large; and that such condition is become a landmark of the Catholic discipline and ecclesiastical peace, throughout all the churches.

9. Resolved, that the spirit of fellow-suffering, with the afflicted Church of Christ, and of abhorrence of the misdeed, by which the salutary function of the Papal See has been intercepted, through open violence against the meekest of men; as well as the sentiment of duty, fraternity, and reverence towards our guiltless Brother and spiritual Chief, forbid us to take up, as spoils, any part of the right of the Apostolic See, so invaded, violated and trodden down, for a time, by sacrilege.

10. Resolved, that by an act, of the same day with these presents, and encyclical to the R. C. Churches, we have judged, concluded, and declared, that, during the public captivity of his said Holiness, and until his freedom shall have been unequivocally manifested by some act, not merely of approbation or cession, we refuse, send back and reprobate; and moreover, for ourselves, we annul and cancel as to any effect, all briefs, or pretended briefs, bulls, or pretended bulls, rescripts, even as of his proper motion, and certain knowledge, bearing title as from his said Holiness, and purporting to be declaratory of his free, or of any resignation of the papal office; and that, during the said captivity of Pius VII. we will account the years of his Pontificate, and of no other.

11. Resolved, that, if it should please God, that his said Holiness should die, as now, a prisoner, we will continue to account the Holy See vacant, until full information and canonical proof shall be had by us of the free, canonical and due election of his Successor.

12. Resolved, that before the date of an Irish act of Parliament, giving the last relief to his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects, and from that to this present time, the recommendation of us, Bishops, when concurring, had been progressively advancing in weight and authority with the Holy See; and, as we believe, principally from the following cause; that we were known to be at once attached to our lawful Government, and attached to the Roman Catholic faith; neither sacrificing our religion to worldly hopes, nor making this freedom of conscience a cloak for malice; but inculcating religious and social duties, in the name of one God, the Founder of both.

13. Resolved, that by the course latterly adhered to, two benefits were obtained, and were in progress to become a part of our ecclesiastical system; the one, that the choice

of persons to fill the office of Bishops, effectively originated from, and was circumscribed by us, so far at least as to make it inaccessible to any foreign temporal influence, or corrupt recommendation. The other advantage was this; that it held out our Hierarchy to the world at large, as purely selected; and thus obtained a distinction, which ultimately redounded to the honor of the tolerating spirit of his present Majesty's government.

14. Resolved, that any change, at present, in our ecclesiastical appointments, expressly innovating upon our Religious discipline, on the ground of its being perilous to the state, because Roman Catholic, and this without a single instance of danger incurred, must at once degrade our Church in the estimation of Europe; as dishonoring its most prevailing christian belief, by our implied acquiescence in a charge of its inadequacy to maintain the most perfect social faith; and must prejudice at home the interests of the public cause, by disabling our authority, which is, and has been, and will ever be exerted in that cause.

15. Resolved, that the idea of making the elections of Bishops entirely national, by confining said election to Chapters alone, or to Chapters and Metropolitans, is superseded by the matters and considerations of the three last Resolutions; is, moreover, not within our competence; and though it had been free of the guilt of schism, would, in the present circumstances of the Irish Catholics, subject our Religion to the most serious and unseemly disadvantages; and in our judgment, would most probably lapse into the sole and positive appointment of the Crown.

16. Resolved, that as to the arrangements regarding our Church, and said to be intended for accompanying a proposal of the Emancipation of Irish Roman Catholics, prudence and a regard for our duty forbid us to pronounce a judgment; whereas those rumoured arrangements have not been ascertained by us through any channel. However, we declare, that no spirit of conciliation has been ever wanting on our part; that we seek for nothing beyond the mere integrity and safety of the Roman Catholic religion, in its Christian faith and communion, and in its essential discipline, subordination and moral code; nor may we be justly reproached for our solicitude in guarding those sacred things, for which we are bound to watch, and bear testimony with our lives, if required.



Which resolutions we have also approved, and make known to you, that you may hold firm the anchor of faith, and the hope of God, and the true doctrines of the Gospel; to which adhering, you will prosper. Once more, Reverend Brothers and Beloved Children, peace be with you! *Amen.*

Richard O'Reilly.	J. T. Troy.	Thomas Bray.
Francis Moylan.	Peter Mac Laughlin.	
P. Joseph Plunket.	Edmund Derry.	
James Caulfield.	James Murphy.	
Daniel Delany.	John Power.	
Edmund French.	James O'Shaughnessy.	
William Coppinger.	Francis C. O'Reilly.	
James Lanigan.	Florence M'Carthy.	
John Young.	Patrick Ryan.	
John Cruise.	Daniel Murray.	
Patrick Mac Mullen.	Oliver O'Kelly.	
Charles O'Donnell.	V. C. TUAM.	
Charles Sughrue.		

*At a Meeting of the Roman Catholic Prelates, assembled in Dublin, on the 25th inst. the following Resolutions had been unanimously adopted.*

1. Resolved, that it is the undoubted and exclusive right of Roman Catholic Bishops to discuss all matters appertaining to the Doctrines and Discipline of the Roman Catholic Church.
2. Resolved, that we do hereby confirm and declare our unaltered adherence to the Resolutions unanimously entered into at our last General Meeting, on the 14th September, 1808.
3. Resolved, that we are convinced, that the Oath of Allegiance framed and proposed by the Legislature itself, and taken by us, is not only adequate security for our loyalty, but that we know of no stronger pledge, that we can possibly give.
4. Resolved, that having disclaimed upon Oath all right in the Pope, or any other foreign Potentate to interfere in the temporal Concerns of the Kingdom, and adherence to the practice observed in the appointment of Irish Roman Catholic Prelates cannot tend to produce an undue or mischievous exercise of any foreign influence whatsoever.

5. Resolved, that we neither seek nor desire any other earthly consideration for our Spiritual Ministry, to our respective flocks, save what they may, from a sense of religion and duty, voluntarily afford us.

6. Resolved, that an Address, explanatory of these our sentiments, be prepared and directed to the Roman Catholic Clergy and Laity of Ireland, and conveying such further instruction, as existing circumstances may seem to require.

*To the Most Eminent and Reverend Lords, the Bishop, Priest, and Deacon Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church;*

*To the Most Illustrious and Reverend Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, and Apostolical Vicars throughout the World,*

*The Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland send greeting:—*

That in a new and unexpected calamity we should devise new precautions, and that, in adopting these, we should call for your religious zeal and assistance, the cruel circumstances of the times, or at least, the motive of christian charity, by which we are actuated, will, doubtless, justify us in your opinion. *For now is the time, that judgment should begin from the House of God, 1 Pet. iv. 17.* Let us therefore listen to the voice of our Lord and our God, speaking of the latter times of his people: *When you shall see the abomination of desolation standing in the Holy Place,—then let those, who are in Judea flee to the mountains.—But pray, that your flight may not be in the winter, or on the Sabbath day.—If therefore they shall say to you: Behold, he is in the desert; go ye not out: Behold, he is in the closets; believe it not, Mat. xxiv. 15, 16, 20, 25, 26.* In these words, Christ intimates to his disciples, that they are to withdraw for a time (not indeed from their faith, nor from their hope of everlasting salvation), but from the earthly habitation of the true believers, and from the Holy Temple itself, till the judgements of God are fulfilled; that we are to pray lest the laws or religion of different countries should throw obstacles in the way of this flight; and lest, our good master and pastor being withdrawn from our sight, we should take occasion to usurp his authority, surrounded as we are on every side with fallacious deceptions and impious artifices. This admonition of our divine

teacher extends to these our times; for we have still a temple, which the impious cannot violate, into which our High Priest, JESUS, the author of our Priesthood, has entered once for all in his own blood of the everlasting Covenant; and we have had earthly abodes resembling and allied with those of the blessed; we have yet holy Laws extending to the whole kingdom of Christ, of which this is the most comprehensive and the most excellent: that we should all be ONE in Faith, in the Sacraments, and in Charity. "To manifest this UNITY," says the holy Martyr, St. Cyprian, in his book *on the Unity of the Church*, "Christ has, by his divine authority, established one chair, and appointed one source of unity, in such manner, that he, who withdraws himself from the chair of Peter, upon which the Church is founded, is no longer within the Church; and that he, who does not hold to the unity of the church, has no faith." This UNITY, for the preservation of which, our blessed Lord, before he ascended to his Heavenly Father, besought him with the piety of a Son, and with the Majesty of the Only-begotten Son, is not to be broken asunder by the impiety of men, or the violence of war, or the mandates of Sovereigns; since the Son of God himself has assured us, that it shall not be subject to the vicissitudes of this world, where he says to us: *My peace I leave you; my peace I give you. Not such as the world gives, do I give to you*, John xiv. 27. Hence those men, who are bent upon oppressing this main source of our unity in Christ, so as to prevent its appearance at all, or its appearance without bearing, at the same time, the foul marks of fraud and deception, are not so much bent upon the abolition of a human law, as upon the destruction of the main work of JESUS CHRIST himself here upon earth, and of the principal hope of Christians in his divine promises.

That this has been attempted of late, it is impossible, venerable Brethren, that you should be ignorant. You have seen the upright, innocent, and holy Pontiff, Pius VII. disgracefully and cruelly seized upon, dragged from his territories, and buried in a dungeon. Hence arises the necessity either of our submitting to a ferocious and insolent military power for the most necessary and sacred intercourse of our holy Religion, or of our resisting this force in the best manner we can.—Could such behaviour be excused in



any Christian, as to turn a venerable old man out of his habitation, and drive him from his country, to oppress an unoffending Bishop of God's Church, to strip the Mother-Church of Christianity of the whole of her patrimony, to overwhelm a most virtuous personage with detestable calumnies, (crimes which we cannot think of without horror) then some sort of excuse might also be admitted for the impious perjury committed in the seizure of our Saviour Christ, for the indignity of spitting upon him in his captivity, and for the injustice of robbing him of his clothes when he was crucified.—These injuries, however, do not affect the holy Pontiff alone: they affect us all; whilst an unauthorized individual arrogates to himself that power, which Christ left for the general benefit of his whole Church and of all mankind, and requires us either to seem to abandon Catholic unity, or to yield obedience to the enemies of the British Empire, whom, nevertheless, we are bound by the command of Christ, by the sanctity of our Oath of Allegiance, and by a natural love of our country to oppose, not only by our counsels and exhortations, but also with our persons, even to the shedding of our blood, and the loss of our lives, should this be requisite; which primary duties of Christian citizens we call upon you—we call upon God himself to witness we will most religiously perform.

Therefore, having consulted together on these several matters in this our General Assembly, held in the City of Dublin, we have entered into such Resolutions as will manifest our inviolable attachment to the unity of the Church, and our veneration for the dignity of our Pontiff, Pius VII. and at the same time will prove a preventative against the above mentioned apprehended evils. The following, then, are the points, which we have discussed, decided, and resolved upon for a perpetual remembrance:

“Whereas the Most Holy and Glorious Pope, Pius VII. has, by a despotic mandate and a military force, without any fault on his part, been dragged away from his subjects, and confined in a foreign prison; and whereas there may be danger of his sinking under the horror and sufferings of his situation, and being forced to abdicate his high office in the Church, and to sign some instrument, purporting, that he has made such abdication freely and by his own choice:

“Therefore we, the said Archbishops and Bishops, having a thorough knowledge of the case in question, do, with

an unanimous consent, reject, abjure, detest, annul and make void, as to every effect of the Canon Law, all Bulls, whether true or false, Rescripts of every kind, Letters, in the form of Briefs, even those, which may profess to be written by the free choice and with the certain knowledge of the writer, which shall or may signify the concession, resignation, or abdication of the Popedom on the part of PIUS VII. until he, the said Pope, shall be delivered from the captivity, which he now endures, and restored to the free possession of his office and jurisdiction, and until this his freedom shall be made evident to us by unquestionable proofs, and not by mere acts, purporting to be acts of abdication, nor by any approbations or confirmations whatever, which may be annexed to the same.

“And should his said Holiness, Pope Pius VII. being yet a prisoner, though under much less restraint than he is under at present, resign, or appear to have resigned, his high office, we declare such resignation, past, present, or to come, absolutely null, and we will continue to date the years of his Pontificate alone, without taking notice of any such pretended abdication.

“But if the said Pontiff, Pius VII. should depart this life during his present captivity, we consider the Holy Apostolical See as been vacant, till it shall be fully and canonically notified to the Churches of Ireland that a successor to him has been lawfully, holily, and freely chosen.

—Such are our decisions and declarations, in the name of our Lord JESUS CHRIST, and in the unity of his spirit, and in the faith of the Catholic Church.”

“You clearly see, that these our Resolutions are by no means intended to subvert the highest dignity in the Church, namely, the prerogative of the Holy See; but that, on the contrary, they are calculated to defend its never-failing authority from violence and indignity, and to prevent that bond of unity, which Christ has left in his Church from being abused by a fraudulent tyranny for the destruction of our faith, and of the public peace, to the great dishonour of the Apostolical See. We therefore commend this our decision to your fraternal charity, and we beseech you, for the love of Christ, and of his body (the Church) that if, for prudential reasons, you should not imitate our example, you will, at least, assist us with your prayers.—Fare ye well in the Lord, most eminent Lords and Venerable Brethren.

Resolved in the General Assembly of the Bishops of Ireland, held in Dublin, February 26, 1810, in the tenth year of the Pontificate of our Holy Father, Pope Pius VII.

No. V.

Assuming the necessity and consequent intention of making some legislative regulation as to tithes in Ireland, the following considerations are submitted to the government and clergy of the United Kingdom.

That by the 5th article of the union, it is enacted, that the churches of England and Ireland, as now by law established, be united into one protestant episcopal church, to be called the *United Church of England and Ireland*, and that the doctrine worship discipline and Government of the said United Church shall be and remain in full force for ever, *as the same are now by law established for the church of England.*

That the safety and preservation of the united establishment mainly depend upon the identity of principle usage and practice.

That no legislative regulation adapted to local exigencies should be made or continued, which breaks in upon the principles of the establishment.

That the people should never experience, that the system of tithing is oppressive or vexatious to the poor.

That the practice and theory of tithing be not at variance.

That the law of the land is the foundation of the clergy's claim to maintenance from tithes.

That all property is the creature and under the controul of the supreme civil power.

That it is a constitutional axiom recognized and confirmed by *magna charta, quod ecclesia anglicana libera, sit & habeat omnia jura integra & libertates suas illasas.*

That the clergy in their corporate capacity are intitled by reason paramount to individuals, to the benefit of the same fundamental statute, which provides, that no freeman be disseised of his freehold, or liberties, or free customs, but by lawful judgement of his Peers, or by the law of the land.

That the fundamental common law rights and liberties of the church of Ireland were before the legislative union, and must essentially since that event, be one and the same.



*De communi jure*; the incumbent is entitled to the tenth of the produce of the land, or the value of it, as often as such new increase arises.

That the common law can only be altered by express statute.

That no corporate clergyman can waive or extinguish the common law rights of his successors.

That agistment tithe or pasturage was in Ireland as well as England; a common law tythe, appears from the Irish act of Hen. VIII. 33. c. 12, which enumerates and provides for the due payment of *corn, hay, pasturages and other sort of tithes and oblations commonly due*.

That no one can prescribe in *non decimando*, nor be exempted from payment of tythe in kind or value, but by ancient *modus* or by deriving under some statute privilege.

That nothing short of an Act of Parliament could divest the clergyman from the instant of his induction of his common law right to every tythe, against which neither a *modus* nor a statute exemption could be set up.

That non-claim and non-perception are no bar to the inherent common law right of the incumbent.

That between the years 1722 and 1735—43 suits for agistment tithe were instituted in the Court of Exchequer in Ireland, and in all of them, which were decided, the judgment of the court was in favor of the clergyman's claim.

That unless this tithe of agistment had been notoriously known and admitted to have a legal existence in Ireland, in 1735, the House of Commons would not (as they did on the 26th of December in that year) have committed the heads of a bill for ascertaining the *tithe of herbage or agistment* of dry and barren cattle, and settling the methods of recovering the same.

That a powerful combination of substantial graziers and land owners (all protestants) by petitions to the commons did partly by intimidation and partly by misrepresentation, induce a majority of that house to come to the noted resolutions against the right of the clergy, to agistment tithe, Resolving first, that they had an honorable and plentiful provision without it. Then, that their demand of it was new, grievous and burthensome to the landlords and tenants, who had notice thereof in their purchases and leases, and lastly, that it would drive many useful hands out of the kingdom; and disable others, that remained to support his Majesty's

establishment and occasion popery and infidelity to gain ground by the contest, that must necessarily arise between the laity and clergy, and that all legal means should be used to oppose and resist future claims of agistment tithe.

That these resolutions, which passed *inconsulto & reclamante clero* operated as forcibly as law against the demands of the clergy.

That such unwarrantable deprivation of the clergy's rights, which from the most meritorious forbearance they abstained from enforcing, was in the year 1800, made the ground or pretext for the legislatures, annihilating their claim without any question of their right or consideration, or recompence being made to them for depriving the Church of Ireland of so valuable a portion of its inheritance.

That this act of the expiring Legislature of Ireland was against all justice, reason, and policy—It was rewarding the most exemplary and disinterested conduct of the clergy, with the deprivation of the better part of their income—It was exempting all the rich grazing land of Ireland, from contributing to the maintenance of the clergy, and laying the whole burthen upon the poor and middling grounds which were only rendered productive by expence and labor, It was the most efficient discouragement to tillage, a fatal check to honest industry, and a perpetual source of turbulence and riot. Witness the unfortunate disturbances of the *white boys*—It was degrading the dignity of the clergyman, it was throwing him off the rich protestant grazier and land owner to the poor catholic cottier and distressed peasant—It was rivetting hatred to the system, by forcing the whole pressure upon those, who were unable to bear it. It was giving retrospectively the force of law to a fraudulently obtained resolution of the House of Commons, and engrafting upon fraud and falsehood, an arrogant and mischievous encroachment upon *magna charta*.

That agistment tithe falls less heavily than any other tithe upon labor and expenditure, and is paid by a class of persons more capable of paying it than any other.

That the extreme difficulty of finding a substitution or commutation for tithes, beneficial and satisfactory, both to the clergy and laity, imposes a fresh duty upon the guardians of the clergy's rights, not at least to concur in abridging or defeating them! *Integra & illæsa* are emphatic words in *magna charta*.

"The present soreness and irritation about tithes afford government a most rare and admirable opportunity of redressing the grievances complained of by reclaiming the defrauded and extorted rights of the church in Ireland.

That the most protestant part of Ireland, Armagh puts the abuse of the present system of tithing so high, as to endanger the loyalty of the country.

The remedy lies only in the principles of exoneration, mitigation, and simplicity.

That in these times of irreligion and impiety, it behoves government to be most jealously alive to every attempt to weaken, traduce, or defeat the establishment, which the weak and wicked represent as religion itself.

That the existing mischief of tithes as now enforced in Ireland, illustrates the impolicy and danger of breaking into the principles of ancient and fundamental institutions—the evils resulting from the deviation evince the wisdom of the original establishment.

That to meddle with the system and leave unredressed so great and crying an act of injustice to a meritorious and exemplary clergy, would be to tear open a dangerous wound and render it irremediable and mortal.

That the closing of this wound will invigorate and infuse health through every part of the system.

That the obvious remedy for the past and antidote against relapse, is to put Ireland under the same *regimen* as England.

That Government should rejoice at the favourable opportunity they now have of proving their regards to the establishment, by restoring so beneficially, so opportunely and so popularly their extorted rights, and securing them from further incroachments.

That if at any future time and under other circumstances, it would be found wise to set on foot a treaty with the clergy of Ireland, either of substitution or commutation, it is but just and equitable, that the clergy should be made parties to the treaty, and be fully enabled to treat on equal terms: and this cannot be done with justice and equity but *omnibus juribus suis integris & libertatibus illaxis*.

That the immediate step to be taken to effectuate either remedy or antidote, is to put the Irish clergy in the possession of their legal and constitutional right to the tithe of agistment of the first grazing country in the world, a right of



which they have been dispossessed by the misrepresentations, menaces, intrigues and combinations of an interested faction, without hearing, consultation, assent or trial, without consideration or recompence, against the known law of the land evidenced by many and recent decisions of the courts and in defiance of and contrary to the advice, wishes and inclination of the British Cabinet and the then several Churches of England and Ireland.

That an act of the Imperial Parliament be for this purpose passed for repealing the 40th of his present Majesty and for regulating and ascertaining the due payment of tithes in that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, which shall in the first place do justice to the establishment by declaring and asserting their legal right to tithe on the value thereof, then for identifying the principles and practice of tithing throughout the united church of England and Ireland, and lastly, for ascertaining certain easy payments for various titheable things for Ireland, which shall perpetuate the clergy's rights, and at the same time manifest their moderation and charity, in alleviating the legal exactions from the poor.

That the act declare the assent of the clergy, and that it be at first made for 5 years, to be perpetuated according to the result of its operation.

That for effectuating this plan, a proper and competent person do instantly make the tour of Ireland apprise himself of the minute system and practice of exacting and enforcing payment of tithes in each of the 4 provinces, examine the different endowments, (they are all made under the 33 Hen. VIII.) and acquire full knowledge of every point of pressure and soreness in the whole system, and that he not only prepare a draft of a bill founded upon those researches, but that he accompany it with an essay or report upon the whole subject to be ready for and put into the hands of his employer by the end of October, either for public or private information, as shall then be found expedient.

To this statement or suggestion were subjoined; 1st, The Armagh resolutions with the names of the subscribing Grand Jurymen, in 1803: for which *vide*. Introduction p. 64. 2d, Extracts from the journals of the Irish House of Commons in 1735, setting forth the resolution of the House against the agistment tithe, and several concomitant circumstances. 3d, Copious extracts from Primate Boulter's

letters, complaining of the overbearing tyranny of the Irish Oligarchy over the rights of the clergy; and calling upon the English Cabinet to send any bill, that might be sent over from the Irish Parliament touching the subject, &c. 4th Lord Castlereagh's act to give legislative effect to the resolutions of the Commons.

### No. VI.

*To the General Committee of the Catholics of Ireland.*

Gentlemen.—I understand that at the General Meeting to be held this day, a proposition is to be made for the organization of a Committee. A measure of such obvious utility cannot fail to be unanimously carried. The existing Committee, if they did not do all, that might be done, effected much. They have quashed lay interference in Catholic discipline—they have put down the Veto—they have wrested this concealed weapon, which in a proper time and place, was to have been made use of against us, from the hands of our pretended friends—from the faces of those self-named friends they have torn the mask, and made the mine explode before its time; which was intended to annoy us. So much is due to the good sense, which on the last year saw through, and defeated the intrigues of designing men; to the spirit, which dictated the determination to send forward the Petition, and to the firmness and judgment of your Committee. This is one amongst the many important services, which we owe to such a body. To a Committee we are indebted, not for liberty indeed, for we have it not, but for an alleviation of suffering, for the relaxation of a code of laws, the most ferociously penal, that ever disgraced the annals of oppression. Whilst we have a Committee, and we should never be without one, as long as we have a wrong to redress, or a grievance to complain of, we have nothing to fear from partial division, from the traffic of Catholic rights, or from the slavish ambition of aristocratic concession; from the Parliament of Rokeby-Hall, the parlour deliberations of Marlborough-street, or the intrigues of Mount Jerome. The determination then, that has been taken for the re-organization of the Committee is wise and salutary. It must meet with the approbation of all. The Catholics of Ireland, excluded from the Constitution, are without a

Government. They should never be without an organ to convey their sentiments, and to attend to their interests. The watchman should be always on the tower. If, however, I am an advocate for a Committee, I am an advocate for one, that will fairly represent us, that will feel and speak the sentiments of the great mass of the inhabitants of Ireland—not certainly, for one made up of the shreds of the thirty-six addressers of Dublin, and of the wreck of the delegation of 1792, for so I understand that it is intended to compose it; and that to this inadequate and inefficient Committee is to be entrusted a power, never yet confided to a subordinate body, of presenting, or withholding your Petition, according to their discretion or caprice. And who is the Gentleman, that in opposition to your determination is to come forward with this proposition? Is he a man, open, honest, candid; whose conduct never required explanation, who never slipped out of the ranks for the purpose of secret intrigue, where corruption meets its object in the dark, and who never sought for vindication from concealment? Let the members of the Convention of 1792, reply to these questions. He was their brother Delegate and they know him. *It is Mr. T. P. P. P.*

You too, Gentlemen, are not unacquainted with him; you heard him in public, you witnessed his exertions against the Petition, in William-street, which it was the wish of our friends to defeat, but which in spite of his or their exertions, went forward to detect their machinations, and to unravel their intrigues. He is one of your Committee, he was elected with the rest, at the last General Meeting, but he never attended your sittings—holding himself at a distance, he patronized and prompted the proposal of some of those questions, the bare discussion of which has clouded your popularity, and after having played the tempter, he was the first to accuse and condemn you. But how unjustly: when it is known, that the *discussion*, which you could not prevent, was your only crime, and that these measures met your decided disapprobation and rejection. You have courted his assistance, and forgetting what you owed to yourselves, and to the dignity of the Catholic body, you proposed to send a députation to him. But what was the result? He promised indeed, but he did not condescend to join in your deliberations, although from the first moment

Vol. III. *It is the request of the House of Commons that the*



of your meeting he never ceased to decry you, and to draw into contempt and suspicion all your proceedings. *He* then is to make this suspicious proposition, at the Meeting this day, which though it came from integrity itself, ought to meet your decided rejection. For let me ask you, Gentlemen, what is your object in the appointment of a Committee? Is it not to collect, as far as it can be done, the common sentiment of the Catholics of Ireland? Is it not, that when we next renew our applications to Parliament, the universal voice of the great mass of the inhabitants of Ireland, may speak our wrongs to the great Council of the Nation, in language not to be misunderstood, and in such a tone, that not only England, but the surrounding nations may receive the detail of our sufferings; that, in fact, the doors may be thrown open, and the secrets of our prison house may be revealed to the eyes, and to the sympathy of Europe. Can this be done in the way, and by the Committee, which it is intended to propose? I appeal to you, Gentlemen, whether ten Members of the survivors of 1792, ever attended your Meetings; and they yet were appointed on the last year, a constituent part of your body. Nay, I will ask, if any one of them has been a constant attendant. Time, which destroys the life, chills the faculties, and impairs the energies of mind and body. Two thirds of the Delegation of 1792 are dead, and the rest, with a few exceptions, are either absent from their country, or enfeebled by age, having become incapable of taking part with your proceedings. Of those you cannot expect an attendance. Your own experience has shewn you, that such an expectation would be vain. Of whom then are your Committee to consist, in case the plan proposed should be adopted? Of a part only of the thirty-six persons appointed by the parishes of Dublin, to draw up an address to the Duke of Bedford. Some even of those are dead, and it is notorious, that immediately after their appointment the Philippics, and every day reiterated invective of the individual, who is this day to make the proposition for a new Committee, drove from amongst them whatever was most respectable and venerable, and that they have never since returned. The thirty six will then be reduced to one third at most of their number, and it is to those men, to twelve or fourteen persons, that we will be called upon to confide the important trust of sending

forward or withholding our Petition. We all know the sway, which the intended proposer of this measure has already obtained over the minds of many of these individuals, and we have all heard and believe, that a situation worth 5 or 6000 pounds a year, was offered for the postponement of our Petition for one year only. Here then is a fine field for the profitable exertion of influence.

Suppose the country brought into that situation, which we all deprecate; suppose us threatened with an invasion, or the enemy on the coast, what would not a terror-struck Minister give to keep back or silence the complaints of the Catholics of Ireland? But let me ask, Gentlemen, will those twelve or fourteen individuals, respectable, I will allow, honest and fair in their intentions, but like the rest of mankind, open to the practices of superior ingenuity, will they, I say, assume to themselves, the name and act as the Committee of the Catholic Body, and if they do, will the Counties, will the South and the West of Ireland, be satisfied to be so represented? Will not such a nomination become the source of division and destruction? And I will again ask, is that man to be trusted, are his intentions fair, can he have the interests of the Catholics at heart, who could think of, much less propose the adoption of such a measure? For, propose he will—I know it to be his intention—I have it from his own lips. He will go forward unless this letter, or the strong expression of public feeling, should this day, beat him from his purpose. But even in that case, you will not find him at a nonplus. He will hold himself prepared to take up new ground, according to what he shall be able to collect of the temper of the meeting. Should that be adverse to him, he will push at his object, namely, the keeping back of all future petition, by playing over again the part, which he acted last year. He will propose some strong and declamatory resolution in favour of reform or some other popular measure, the repeal of the Union perhaps, and after ringing over the changes against the barbarity of orangemen, or the bells of Enniscorthy, and hinting at the proximity of redress from a quarter not to be named, he will move in the enthusiasm of the moment, against the appointment of the Committee. But, suppose him to be successful in his first and favourite measure, what are we to expect? Is there

an object, that such a man, with such a Committee would not be able to effect. I hold not his talents lightly, they are considerable. He possesses great powers of persuasion. In intrigue, management and finesse, he stands unrivalled. He is all things to all men: with the democrat, he can hint at inexpressible things: with the aristocrat, his opinions are for order, security of property, and submission to the laws: with the timid he can tremble, and with the bold and the youthful, he can assume the brow and the part of Sportacus. Having to do with such a Machiavel in politics, I would have you, Gentlemen, consider, whether the sole management of your affairs—whether the great trust, which has been confided to you, is now concentrated in his hands. For, be assured, that there is nothing more certain, than that such will be the case; should he succeed, I beg of you to recollect, who the individual is, who has undertaken this grand stroke of politics. I again refer you to the Delegates of 92; ask those, who were present when the accusation was brought against him in Back-lane—consult the sketches of Irish History, printed in New York. There you will find how that Emancipation, which was intended for us, by a trembling Court, came to be dwindled down into the petty privileges of the Bar, of voting at Elections, and the high distinction of shedding our blood for British interests, without the hope of preferment, or of adequate reward. Let the thirty-six themselves explain, if they can, how it happened, that they never undertook to lay the Catholic claims before Parliament, when, is notorious, that they were elected in the room of those, against whom the public voice was raised, for the supposed intention only, of postponing that measure; let them tell us, why all their exertions were confined to the sending up a grovelling and slavish address to the Duke of Bedford, into which not an expression was allowed to enter, conveying even an hope of Emancipation; let them say, how it happened, that the good spirit, which certainly existed amongst them was made to evaporate; and why, under insinuations, which they cannot forget, of the illegality of their proceedings they were suddenly and unaccountably dissolved.—But above all, Gentlemen, I entreat, that you will ask this *Catholic Nestor*, this *Father of the Catholic Cause*, as he has been whimsically called by the ever changing and changeable barrister,



why he has for years back endeavoured to withhold from Parliament the detail of Catholic sufferings; how it happened that in this he coincided with the views of Mr. Perceval, Mr. Ponsonby, and Mr. Grattan; is the nature of his mysterious connection with these two latter Gentlemen, the cause of their frequent visits at his house; which, considering the persons, cannot be supposed to arise from ordinary acquaintance, friendship, or family relationship—Let him be asked those questions publicly and openly at the meeting this day; and if they be answered to your satisfaction, you will have my consent to go forward and support every measure, that he may propose.

## CATHOLICUS IPSE.

Mr. Keogh returned the Meeting and the Mover his sincere acknowledgements for this unequivocal proof of their kind, and affectionate confidence. He observed, that the author, by declining to come forward, had proved what he (Mr. Keogh) had first advanced, that he knew his assertions to be false; and the respectable Meeting, whom he had the honor to address, would now perceive to what lengths a cowardly scoundrel may be tempted to go to gratify a spirit of malignity. But he was resolved not to avail himself of what might be considered as the effect of their partiality, the approbation they had unanimously expressed of his conduct, but would now, compelled as he was by this anonymous scribbler, produce, in his own vindication, a detail of facts, which he would otherwise have carried with him to the grave.

A charge made by this writer (said Mr. Keogh) is, that while emancipation was intended by a trembling Court, through my means, the great measure dwindled down to the petty privileges of admission to the Bar, to the Army, and to the Elective Franchise. Such is the assertion of *Catholicus Ipse*, in answer to which I assert, that every syllable of that assertion is false; and to prove my allegation, I have only to call the attention of this Meeting to the condition of the Catholic Body both at and before the period alluded to, which I shall do; and in the presence of many gentlemen, whose testimony, if required, will corroborate the truth of my statement.

In the year 1791, twelve Catholic citizens obtained an audience of the then Secretary to the Viceregal Government,

and presented to him a list of a part, and but a part of the penal laws, entreating the interest and protection of Government, while they sought a removal of any one, although it should be the very smallest of our grievances. The Secretary, the Agent of this *trembling* Court, did not deign to give this respectful deputation even a *refusal*; he dismissed them without an answer. Repelled in this quarter, we prepared a brief and most humble petition to the Legislature. But four millions of subjects could not get one Member of Parliament even to present their petition to the House. Mr. afterwards Lord O'Neil had indeed undertaken the task; but superior influence induced or compelled him to retract, and he peremptorily refused to discharge his engagement.

As to the Aristocracy of the Catholics, they, it must be confessed, were not inactive: they exerted themselves, it is true, but their exertions were directly in opposition to our seeking redress. The Peerage was unanimous, and supported by some of our Bishops, by many of our wealthy Merchants, and by nearly the whole of the landed Interest, it is easy to conceive, what must have been the aggregate weight of such a body. They triumphed in our discomfiture, and the insulting manner, in which the deputation had been dismissed from the Castle, furnished them with a copious subject of ridicule. Thus, then, rejected by Government, refused admittance to Parliament, scoffed at and opposed by our own nobility and gentry, and all over whom either possessed any influence, our petition was abandoned by the Catholics of Dublin themselves, from a conviction that any farther application for redress must be hopeless, while the accumulated influence of Government, Parliament, and even of their own body, was placed in the opposite scale against it. On this, Mr. Chairman, *Catholicus Ipse* has the unparalleled ignorance, or the unblushing effrontery to say, "that a trembling Court intended to grant our emancipation." And as the assertion is made in the form of a charge against me, I am compelled, for the purpose of repelling it, to state the share I had in raising the Catholics from the despondency, or rather the despair, into which they had fallen—and I shall do this, with two of the Committee of that inauspicious period in my view, who can correct, if there be any thing erroneous, or contradict, if there be any thing false in my statement.

The select committee was, at my request, summoned and met at Allen's court. It was their determination to give up the cause as desperate, lest a perseverance in what they considered as an idle pursuit, might not only prove ineffectual, but draw down a train of persecution on the body. I was of a different opinion, and pressed, that one of the Committee should be deputed to London to advocate their cause with the immediate Ministers of the Crown, and that the expences of his mission should be defrayed out of the general fund, which was then sufficient for the purpose. The proposal was of a novel, and thought to be of an idle nature, an emanation of an ardent, an enthusiastic, perhaps a disordered mind. They were persuaded, that the Minister would not receive their deputy, and at all events would grant no relaxation of our grievances, upon the not unnatural presumption, that the Irish Government must have been apprised of his sentiments, when they closed the doors both of the Cabinet and the Parliament against us. Finally, every man refused to go upon so hopeless an errand, and the meeting was actually breaking up, and about to disperse for ever, when I, and I alone, offered to go to London, and at my own expence, to solicit an audience from Ministers. All I required was the authority of their permission, which I obtained, and I accordingly set out for the British capital, where I remained for three months, and whence I returned to this kingdom, in January, 1792—accompanied at my own desire, by the son of that illustrious Irishman, Edm. Burke.

I arrived in London without any introduction from this country, without any support, any assistance, any instructions. I call upon those, who hear me, and who, as I before said, are competent to contradict me, if I falsify or exaggerate, to say whether I have been guilty of either. I had gone, in the opinion of my brethren of the Committee, upon a forlorn hope, and they probably scarce expected to hear any thing more of me or my mission. I was introduced to the truly great Edmund Burke, the sincere friend of Ireland, and, for that very reason, of the Catholic Body: thro' him to the present Lord Melville, then Mr. Dundas, and Minister of the Irish Department. I will not, because it is not now necessary, enter into a detail of the reasons I urged in my interview with that Statesman; suffice it to say, that I had the very good fortune and happiness to convince that



Minister, that the interest of his Majesty required, that the condition of his Catholic subjects in Ireland should be ameliorated.

In consequence of this, at the opening of the ensuing Session, in January, 1792, a Ministerial Member, Sir H. Langrishe, introduced a Bill into the House of Commons of Ireland, which afterwards received the Royal assent, and which opened to us the profession of the law—privilege of education unrestrained by the necessity of license—and of legal intermarriage between Protestants and Catholics; and now for these exertions, made at my own expence, and attended with a degree of success beyond the most ardent hopes, or even wishes of the Catholics at that period, and accusations brought against me by this infamous calumniator, of having betrayed the cause, which my then individual efforts supported. But let me proceed.

So far was complete emancipation from being demanded, or even thought of, at that time, much more of course, from being in the contemplation of the Government, that the Irish Parliament on the 20th day of the following month, February, 1792, rejected a petition from the Catholic body, for "only *some share* in the elective franchise," with a majority of 203 against 23.

The hostile spirit of the Irish Government met in the aristocracy of the Catholics, very active, very zealous, but certainly not very able partisans. The Peers and Gentry, and all, whom they could influence, signed a declaration at the instigation of Government, in which meanness and folly were combined, opposing the intended relief to their *country*, their *children* and *themselves*, and the Irish Government forwarded this declaration to Lord Melville, then, as I before said, Mr. Secretary Dundas, for the declared purpose of inducing him to withdraw the support of Government from the proposed bill of Sir Hercules Langrishe; but that Minister refused to gratify them in this instance.

Animated by the relaxation they had obtained, the Catholics of Dublin summoned a Convention from every part of the Kingdom to assemble in the capital. This measure created an universal outcry from the Irish Government and all its agents, whether at County meetings, Grand Juries or Corporations. We were charged with an attempt to overawe the Parliament, or to erect the

standard of rebellion. The Catholic Nobility were again pressed into the service, for which they were apparently more calculated by their disposition than their abilities. They pledged themselves, not only not to join in, but likewise to prevent the assembling of the Convention. Terrified by the threats of Government upon the one side, weighed down by the mill-stone of aristocratic influence upon the other, the counties remained unmoved, apparently unaffected; at least they did not make any effort towards appointing representatives to the intended Convention. This obstacle was to be overcome, or the hopes of the Catholics were blasted for ever. I again came forward: I went through the four provinces, accompanied by my lamented friend, T. W. Tone; I attended the meeting of the Catholic Bishops in Ulster, held in that province. With those Prelates I found it necessary to have an interview, likewise with the Bishops of Connaught, who had been tampered with and deceived by the misrepresentations of a Catholic lawyer. In my journey thither, I was accompanied by my dear and much lamented friend, Thomas Broughall, with whom I traversed the whole south of Ireland. When a good example was once set, it was followed with enthusiasm, and the Convention became the genuine, full and complete representation of the Catholics of Ireland. Yet even this Convention did not entertain an idea, for some time, of applying for more than the elective franchise and admission to Grand Juries, until, towards its close, it determined to petition the Sovereign himself for a full admission to all the rights and privileges of the Constitution. The Convention appointed five of its members to carry the Petition to the foot of the throne. In January, 1793, the Deputation was introduced to the King; and presented the Petition. I was of the number; so were Lord French, Christopher Bellew, and James Edward Devereux, Esqrs. who are still living; and to these three surviving delegates I refer, for the honorable testimony, which they bore with respect to my services at our interview with Lord Melville. But I hasten to what gives me infinitely greater pleasure, the *result*. The result was, that the Catholics were restored to the elective franchise—to Magistracies—to Grand Juries—and one sweeping clause removed numberless penal statutes. These privileges, so beneficial to the tenantry of Ireland, from



the greatest landholder to the peasant, my accuser calls *petty privileges*—and the share I have had in procuring them, he pronounces to be another of the injuries I have done to the Catholics of Ireland.

This anonymous writer calls on me to account for the address to the Duke of Bedford; he says, that it is grovelling and slavish, without one expression conveying a hope of Catholic emancipation. I have in my hand that address, from which I will read two paragraphs, to prove his want of truth in this, as in his other charges, and that the Address did convey a hope of Emancipation. The following are the paragraphs I allude to:

“That it will be the achievement of your Grace’s Administration to have guided a salutary and comprehensive scheme of policy *to that glorious developement*, of which the advantages have been in part displayed, and the important consequences must be to invigorate the admirable British Constitution, by introducing a loyal people to defend it, as their own chief good.”

“May your Grace permit us to conclude with the expression of those sentiments, in which all Irish Catholics can have but one voice. Bound as we are to the fortunes of the Empire, by a remembrance of past, and *the hope of future benefits*—by our preference and by our oaths—should the wise generosity of our law-givers vouchsafe *to crown that hope*, which their justice inspires, it would be no longer our duty alone, but our pride, to appear the foremost against approaching danger; and, if necessary, to renunciate our benefactors, by the sacrifice of our lives.”

But a strong and specific charge remains to be answered; that either five or six thousand a year was offered by Government, as a bribe for keeping back for one year the Catholic Petition. The charge is against me—it is evident, that he must insinuate, that not only the offer was made to me, but accepted by me, for if I rejected the offer, where would be the crime on my side? I once more call on this defamer to come forward, and give even a shadow of proof in support of this charge. The present and the late Government must know of every sum paid for secret services; and I defy *Catholicus Ipse*—I defy the late Administration—I defy the present Administration, or any man living to substantiate this charge; and now in the presence of my Country and my God, do solemnly declare, that I never



received from any Minister or Government to the amount of six pence for myself, my sons or for any part of my family, and the proceedings here this day shall, through the medium of the public prints, come before every one of the parties. As to the allusion of my being visited by Messrs. Ponsonby and Grattan, and the hint, that no acquaintance, friendship, or family connexion exists between them and me—I scorn to make a boast of acquaintance with elevated characters.—Whatever advances to any thing of that kind may have taken place, have uniformly proceeded from themselves; but if the writer, *whoever* or *whatever* he is, means it as an aspersion, that I am the founder of my own fortune—that I have no hereditary estate in a country, where robbery, under the form of confiscation or the penal code, has deprived all the antient Irish of their property—the unmeaning allusion and insipid hint, I shall treat with silent contempt, and hasten to the refutation of one lie more, that “I kept back the recital of our sufferings, during the late Administration.”

The Duke of Bedford arrived here about April, 1806.—On the very commencement of the next Session, a deputation, of which I was one, had two interviews with Mr. Secretary Elliot and Lord Chancellor Ponsonby, to press the question of Emancipation. As soon, however, as I had reason to think, that our application was overruled in England by Lord Grenville, I then sounded the alarm at a meeting held on the 24th of January, 1807; and, as what I then said was printed by Fitzpatrick, by order of the Committee, I refer to it, without troubling the present meeting with a recapitulation. A degree of consequence was, indeed, attributed by others to that speech, which I never thought it merited, which is, that it was brought to the King, and contributed to the dismissal of Lord Grenville and his colleagues in 1807. But this much I know, that, from that day to this, Mr. Ponsonby never honored me with a visit—which I regret infinitely more from my personal respect for the man, than on account of his being a leader in Opposition or Administration.

Permit me now, Mr. Chairman, to return my most grateful thanks to you and this assembly, for the patience, with which I have been heard, the honor, which has been conferred upon me, and the indignation, which has been

evinced against an infamous assassin, who has attempted to surprise and calumniate a man, who had devoted near thirty years of his life for the purpose of breaking the chains of his countrymen.

No. VII.

After the 2d volume had been drawn off, the letter from Mr. Curran to Mr. Grattan mentioned p. 346 was printed in Dublin, with copies of all the letters, and written communications, that passed on the occasion of Mr. Curran's appointment to the Rolls. The subjoined copies of Sir Michael Smith's terms and Mr. Ponsonby's letter in answer thereto have been, but recently procured from the Gentleman, who has the originals in his possession. They verify and confirm the narrative of that transaction from page 336 to page 346; they will gratify the unbiassed searcher of truth, and prove the Author's anxiety to disclose it.

*Copy of the Engagements which Sir Michael Smith required in favour of his dependants in office, before he would resign his situation of Master of the Rolls; and which was sent to the late Chancellor Ponsonby, at his request.*

MAY, 1806.

The Lord Chancellor engages, on the part of government, to Sir Michael Smith, as follows, viz.

*First.* That as soon as conveniently may be, after the 25th of March, 1807, a pension of one hundred pounds a year, free and clear of all charges for pells, poundage, or otherwise, shall be granted, in due form, to John Hevey, the late Clerk of Sir Michael Smith, to hold to the said John Hevey from said 25th of March, 1807, for and during his natural life.

*Secondly.* That a like provision of one hundred pounds a year shall, at the same time, and in like manner and form, be granted to James Gardiner, the late Trainbearer of Sir Michael Smith, to hold to him from said 25th of March, 1807, for and during said James Gardiner's natural life.

*Thirdly.* That a like pension of one hundred pounds a year shall, at the same time, and in like manner and form,

be granted to James Leonard, the late Tipstaff of Sir M. Smith, to hold to said James Leonard, from said 25th of March, 1807, for and during his natural life.

*Fourthly.* That a pension of five hundred pounds a year, or a place worth six hundred pounds a year, not inconsistent with his profession as a practising attorney, shall at the same time, and in like manner and form, be granted to Joseph Ridgeway, Esq. the late Deputy of Sir M. Smith at the Rolls, to hold to said Joseph Ridgeway, from said 25th day of March, 1807, for and during his natural life.

*A Copy of the Chancellor Ponsonby's Letter to Sir Michael Smith.*

Dear Sir, Ely-Place, May, 28th, 1808.

I laid before my Lord Lieutenant the statement, which you sent me, as containing *the Engagement of Government*, respecting the provision to be made for those inferior officers of your court, who wish to retire at the same time you do, and for whose comfort you express so much solicitude; *and I am authorised by his Grace to assure you, that he will comply with your wishes, and fulfil the engagement, as I, by his permission, have made it.* I shall be much obliged to you (when you have taken a copy of the engagement) to send me back the original, and to write me a *formal* and regular notification of your wish to resign, as the letter you have just now sent me, though sufficient to authorise me to inform the Lord Lieutenant of your desire, is not sufficient to authorise him to recommend the acceptance of your resignation, the grant of your pension, and the appointment of your successor.

I have the honor to be,  
with great esteem, Yours,  
G. PONSONBY, C.



1. The first step in the process of the scientific method is to ask a question.	10
2. The second step in the process of the scientific method is to do background research.	10
3. The third step in the process of the scientific method is to form a hypothesis.	10
4. The fourth step in the process of the scientific method is to test the hypothesis.	10
5. The fifth step in the process of the scientific method is to analyze the data.	10
6. The sixth step in the process of the scientific method is to draw a conclusion.	10
7. The seventh step in the process of the scientific method is to communicate the results.	10
8. The eighth step in the process of the scientific method is to repeat the experiment.	10
9. The ninth step in the process of the scientific method is to publish the results.	10
10. The tenth step in the process of the scientific method is to evaluate the results.	10

## ERRATA.



### *In the Introduction.*

Page.	Line.	
16	24	For <i>natural</i> read <i>mutual</i> .
27	19	For <i>warrant</i> read <i>summons</i> .
101	17	For <i>struck</i> read <i>stuck</i> .

### *In Vol. I.*

1	3	Insert <i>by</i> between the words <i>system</i> and <i>which</i> .
43	23	For <i>resume</i> read <i>reserve</i> .
109	3	For <i>successor</i> read <i>predecessor</i> .
113	Note.	The body of O'Brien was dissected.
152	31	For <i>were</i> read <i>at all</i> .
195	8	For <i>marshal</i> read <i>martial</i> .
219	34	For <i>gem</i> read <i>germ</i> .
271	44	Insert <i>as</i> after the word <i>well</i> .

### *In Vol. II.*

165	3	Insert <i>he</i> after <i>which</i> .
189	27	Omit <i>the Reverend</i> .
345	5	For <i>on</i> read <i>in</i> .
346	32	For <i>Mr. Grattan</i> read <i>Lord Grey</i> .
473		Marginal Note, for <i>charge</i> read <i>change</i> .

### *In Vol. III.*

561	3	For <i>does</i> read <i>do</i> .
792	25	For <i>acknowledge to</i> read <i>acknowledged</i> .
856		Marginal Note, for <i>with</i> read <i>without</i> .

ERENT.

...to the ...

[illegible]



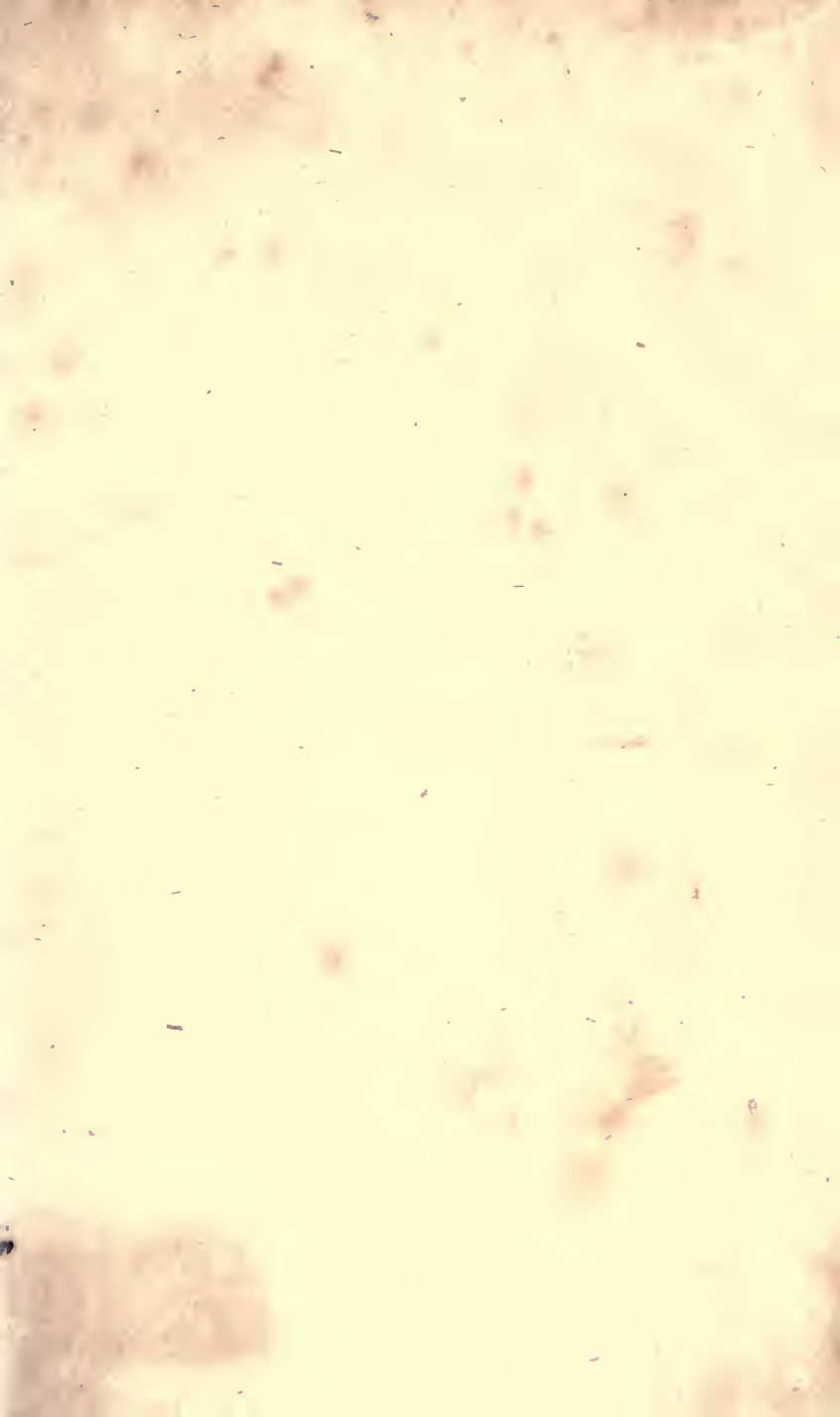








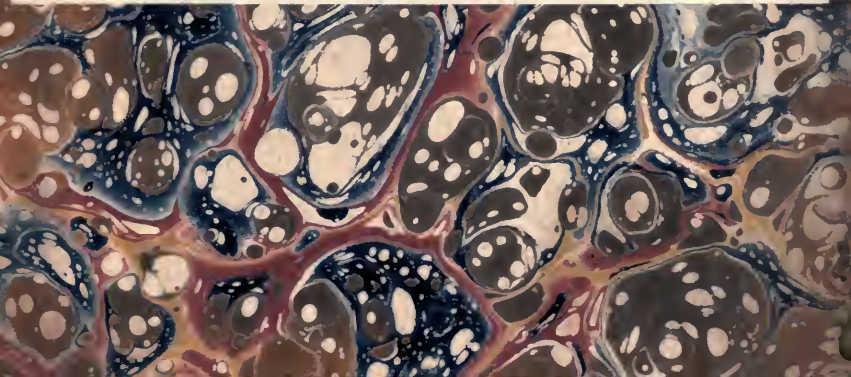
UNIVERSITY of CALIFORNIA  
AT  
LOS ANGELES  
LIBRARY



UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LIBRARY  
Los Angeles

This book is DUE on the last date stamped below.

Form L9—15m-10,'48(B1039)444





PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE  
THIS BOOK CARD

LIRA



University Research Library

DA-9508972H

CALL NUMBER

88

VOL

PT

COP

AUTHOR

FLORIDEN/HISTORY OF IRELAND

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54  
GLOBE 42145-0



